433, 162, 464, 439

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
● Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2
Israel	MF1

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309, Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310, Palestine - pp. 302-304, Israel - pp. 310-311./

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

country, often too rainless to produce even the minimum of grazing. It lies, equal in area to the rest of 'Iraq, in the Shamiya desert south-west and west of Euphrates, in the upper Jazira, east of Tigris below Baghdad, and above it astride the Jabal Ḥamrin. These wastes belonged to the true camel-breeding Arab nomads; their inlying fringes, near to the rivers, were the home of the half-settled shepherd sections of cultivating tribes.

The inhabitants of all these regions varied widely in the nearness of their approach to urban civilization and the reach of government. Nearest came the citizens of the towns: then the settled village-dwellers, then the tribal cultivators in their clusters of dwellings, then the marshmen, the half-settled shepherds on the desert fringe, and finally the pure bedouin. These last were and are by far the least numerous element; to regard 'Iraq as largely a bedouin territory is a common error, since much of the country has always afforded the possibility of settled life, and bedouin are found only where no other form of life is possible.

Of the population of the three wilayas, no reliable estimate could be given then or later. The census in Turkish times was conducted, with feeble and venal inefficiency, only in towns and only for conscription purposes. The figures supplied by tribesmen or urban community heads varied with their fears or hopes of liability or benefit. The wilaya of Baṣra in 1900, excluding its Arabian areas, may have contained half a million souls; that of Baghdad perhaps a million and a quarter, that of Mosul less than half a million. A total of midway between two and two and a half million people may fairly be estimated.

The races of which the population consisted, and by each of which some contribution was made, were various. Arabs formed the great majority. But who were these? The folk even of earliest Arabia were of mixed physical types, and it is as idle to look for 'racial purity' in their later offshoots as in other races of the modern world. The Arabs of 'Iraq, in 1900 as today, were Arabic-speaking "Iraqis': a unified amalgam containing physical elements of every population who, from prehistory, had entered the river valleys as invaders or immigrants, and had been assimilated to form that 'Iraqi community which Arabs of Arabia had subjugated in the seventh century A.D. and, by vigour of their arms and faith, had turned into 'Arabs' like themselves. The 'Iraqi people by the end of the nineteenth century were oblivious of—would have denied—any other cultural or ethnic associations.

Within their community the shared tradition and pride of race far outweighed, in most relationships, the differences created by variety of environment, dialect, and material interest: yet these, too, could be formidable as between town and tribe, and as between

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

184 795 [578] the two main social-religious communities. Northern 'Iraq belonged generally to the Sunni element in Islam, southern to the Shi'i, while in the divided central districts the Shi'a predominated. Their relations were by tradition and conviction uncordial, and their pervasive antipathy could turn to violence. There was little social admixture between them, and the Shi'is were, by their own will, almost wholly excluded from the system of education provided by the Sunni Government—and, indeed, from that Government itself.

563 162 The mountaineers of Mosul wilaya belonged to far the largest of the 'Iraq minorities, the Kurds. These formed a substantial part—perhaps a quarter or a third—of the whole Kurdish race, which occupied a wide belt from eastern Anatolia to and across the Russian and Persian frontiers: a territory claimed by fervid Armenians as their own, and covering five wilayas of Turkey, of 563 621 which Mosul was the south-eastern. The Kurds formed a clear racial and linguistic block with a strong pride in past achievement and memories of princely independence. Convinced of superiority to Turk and Arab alike, they differed markedly from the latter in character, environment, and personal habit, but closely resembled them in a social organization which represented an identical response to similar social needs. Nomadism among them, with sheep and cattle in place of camels, was confined to a few tribes; but tribal loyalties prevailed everywhere, except when village or district interests, or a mere absence of leaders, had led to detribalization. About half of the Mosul sanjaq was Kurdish country, divided into the qadhās of Dohuk, 'Amadiya, Zakho, 'Aqra, and Zibar: the whole of Sulaymaniya sanjaq: and a full two-thirds of Shahrizur.

563 795 197 Except for small sections with Shi'i or heretical leanings, the Kurds of Mosul wilaya were Sunnis of the Shafi'i or Qadiri sects. Their homogeneity in language and culture was less than complete: of the three traditional or mistily historical groups—the Badinan Kurds between the Greater Zab and the Van frontier, the Suran between the two Zabs, and the Baban from Lesser Zab to Sirwan (Diyalā)—the first differed in its Kurmanji dialect from the other two, who, in common with most of the Persian Kurds, spoke and speak the Kurdi or Kurdish which had never achieved literary status.

563 621 The tendency of the surviving Kurdish nomads to settle had long been apparent, but had still far to go; and the gradual encroachment by the hillmen on the nearest of the plains—around Arbil, and west of Kifri—was to continue, household by household, for 563 the next half-century. By 1900 the freedom of the Kurdish valley dynasties, on any major scale, belonged to the past. Turkish Qa'immaqams and Mudirs, sometimes Kurdish by race, were

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

established at every qadhā and nahiya; and the Kurds, in turn, supplied many officials and soldiers to the Empire. The educated class, in contrast to the Arab provinces, was small; there was no Kurdish intelligentsia, save for rare individuals in exile; the educated Kurd in his home or in government service became, at this period, in culture and sentiment a Turk. Their tribal organization, on the other hand, with compact and barely accessible communities of a thousand to fifty thousand souls, was likely to conform to a government administration only if the latter were sympathetic, strong, and flexible. In fact, the tribesmen in wide areas still showed a far truer loyalty to their own leaders than to Turkish officialdom; they remained, by great majority, unassimilable and uncooperative; and the wholesale insecurity which resulted from their preferred way of life could not, it seemed, be reduced by any system of indirect rule which Turks would authorize or Kurds accept.

Sharing racial origins with these, the Yazidis resembled them in type and habit. Their main concentration was in the Jabal Sinjar, fifty miles west of Mosul, but their holiest place, Shaykh 'Adi, lay in the Mosul plain. Their numbers, never formidable, had been reduced by the active antipathy of their Kurd and Arab neighbours; it was excited by the outwardly churlish Yazidi character, still more by their non-Muslim religion of devil-propitiation—if their hotch-potch of religious tenets be rightly understood—and by their close community autocracy. Though they still refused equally subjection and assimilation, their long history of major revolt and violence was at an end. The Yazidis, alleged to be mere heretics, never formed a Millet (Milla) in the Ottoman Empire.

The Turkomans, village-dwelling cultivators without tribal organization, were found in numbers in the towns of Kirkuk, Altun Kupri, Arbil, and Kifri, in the villages (Qara Tepe, Tuz Khurmatu, Daquq) along the Baghdad–Mosul trunk road, and at Tall 'Afar midway between Mosul and Sinjar. These Turkish-speaking folk, perhaps descendants of frontier-guards placed there by 'Abbasid Caliphs, were famed for no special gifts or prowess, but had long contributed a host of effendis to the bureaucracy and enriched village and countryside by their quiet industry and sound sense. Some known Baghdadi and a few provincial families were of Turkoman blood. Their future history could be foreseen as one of gradual absorption in the Arab majority. The same was true of the small community of the Shabaks on the Tigris south of Mosul; they spoke a Kurdish dialect and were thought to profess a heretical type of Shi'ism.

If these Kurd, Yazidi, and Turkoman minorities were confined almost entirely to the Mosul wilaya, the case was otherwise with

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

the Persian residents in 'Iraq. These were scarcely found north of the Jabal Ḥamrin, and in southern 'Iraq were confined to a few households. Their great concentrations were in Karbalā, Kadhimiya, Samarrā, and Najf, the four Holy Cities of the Shi'a (to which all Persians adhere), and in Baghdad. Bilingual in Persian and Arabic, and found in every class from landowner to beggar, from pious Mujtahid to huckster, the Persians were exclusively town-dwelling and formed an alien community the more unmanageable because the Shi'i devotion which had led them to 'Iraq was itself among the greatest embarrassments of a Sunni empire. With the Lurs, the Persians of the Holy Cities and Baghdad had little save official nationality in common. These hardy natives of the southern Zagros, and subjects of their hereditary Wali, were familiar in Baghdad and Baṣra as porters of heavy loads, which occupation they monopolized. They were resident also as traders and craftsmen in the middle-Tigris and Gharraf regions, known there as Fayliya Kurds; and they dominated the border towns of Mandali and Badra and the villages near by. Of all this the last half-century has changed nothing; and the same is true of the gentle, mysterious, scanty race of the Ṣubbā or Sabaeans or, as they call themselves, Mandaeans. Known to travellers mistakenly as 'Christians of John the Baptist', these folk, with their own Syriac-type language and their holy books in Mandaean tongue and script, lived as silversmiths and boat-builders in the riverain towns and villages of lower 'Iraq, wherever running water was available for their rites. Their origins and beliefs, neither Muslim nor Christian, and their distinctive ceremonies and customs had in 1900 been little studied.

The 'Iraqi Jews were in 1900 one of the chief minorities in the territory. Like the main Christian sects they formed an authorized Millet of the Empire, with autonomy in their personal and community affairs. They were grouped in larger or smaller numbers in almost every urban or greater village settlement from the Van border to the farthest south. Everywhere industrious and inoffensive, they contained also, especially in Mosul and the north, the poorest and most backward elements. Exempt from military service and with little part in public life, they practised the occupations and showed the qualities of their race and administered their schools and synagogues; and many a one could be found, in the wildest Kurdish areas, as the valuable personal agent to the Aghā, who would boast of his clever Jew. In Baghdad, with a city community of some 50,000, they almost outnumbered the Sunni Arabs and exceeded the Christian, Persian, and Turkish minorities combined. With their agents in Manchester, Bombay, and Paris they had so far the supremacy in commerce and foreign trade that Mus-

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

lims were often forced into partnership, while Christian merchants had been largely driven from the field. Western education was widespread, inspired by the excellent school of the French-Jewish progressive Alliance Israélite Universelle founded in 1864. The community, which included rich landowners and 'notables', was treated with a tolerance which excluded social equality: the abilities and wealth of the successful excited jealousy and at times a bullying avarice, but never political suspicion. The ruin of their position and happiness by political Zionism lay still half a century ahead.

The Christian communities of the three wilayas differed little from those of our own day. The more populous sects belonged to official Millets headed locally by bishop, archbishop, or patriarch. Such were the Orthodox (Gregorian) Armenians, fairly numerous in the towns but nowhere concentrated: the Assyrians or Nestorians, few in the 'Iraq of 1900 and almost confined to the 'Amadiya qadhā in the extreme north: the Monophysite Jacobites with a few houses in Mosul, and the Syrian Catholics, who are Jacobites catholicized: the Armenian Catholics: small communities of Greek Orthodox and smaller of mission-converted Protestants: and finally the numerous and important Chaldaeans, who, by origin Nestorians, had been attracted from their mountains to Mosul and its villages and catholicized to form a Uniate Church. The Christians, whose prized distinctions of creed and prelate were meaningless to Turk and Arab, enjoyed a status above Jew or Yazidi but below Muslim. Poorer than the Jews, they were less resented and like them politically negligible. The suspicion which Armenian nationalism had evoked elsewhere in Turkey, to meet brutal and bloody reprisals in the Armenian massacres, was not felt in 'Iraq. The Christians owned land, cultivated in their northern villages but not in lower 'Iraq, specialized in retail commerce, hotel-keeping, artisanship, and the legal profession, and provided a number of government functionaries. The Chaldaeans of Tall Kayf had long enjoyed a monopoly of employment on the river steamers. All the communities had their own churches, priesthoods, and usually schools, served for long years past by the missions of European churches. The educational standard was advanced by 'Iraqi standards of the time, and a beginning had been made with girls' schools. The Christians like the Jews were free from military service, and paid the exemption tax. The communities of both religions sent official members to the Administrative Councils of their district.

The Turks themselves, last of the minorities to be mentioned, were represented in 'Iraq by a few dozen senior officials, by families whose property or politics constrained them to live there, by the Turkish womenfolk of upper-class urban families, and by

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

563 perhaps a fifth part of the military forces and a tenth of the gen-
162 darmerie. But this minority was disproportionately powerful by dint of the authority of Government, and by the contact of its leaders with the ante-rooms of Istanbul and with Turkish culture
177 It followed that some 'Iraqis, but not many, were thus attracted to the prestige of Turkish circles and all they signified, and, before the day of an Arab nationalism—or even after it—identified themselves with that element. Turkish was everywhere the language of Government, the courts, and the State schools.

3. PERSIAN AND ARABIAN NEIGHBOURS

648 With their Persian neighbour, Turkey and 'Iraq had a long tradition of discord. If, by the nineteenth century, the days of major aggressive war were over, there remained material for ill will between two unsympathetic peoples who differed in language, culture, and character. This was not diminished by the Persian Consular representatives—some of dubious status—at a dozen of the 'Iraq cities. The two Empires, devoted respectively to the Sunni and Shi'i faiths, were passing also through different stages of their evolution: Turkey struggling with modernism and western aspirations, Persia still medieval and uneasy with half-independent vassals in her midst. Reaction in its crudest forms was in the ascendant at Teheran since the accession in 1896 of the amiable spendthrift Muẓaffar al-Din Shah.

The frontier itself had proved a major irritant. Its line had been settled by nothing more stable than the fortunes of many wars and the fickle adherences of tribes. It cut through the featureless flatlands east of the lower Tigris and across the tumbled mountains of Kurdistan; it divided homogeneous peoples, often migratory and always incapable of loyalty to a distant throne. The 1847 Treaty of Erzerum had been followed by thirty years of conventions, commissions, and map-making, and by as many, in the last quarter of the century, of minor forays, counter-interventions, and angry protests. The close of the century found the Turks still claiming Persian-occupied towns and valleys—Urmiya, Wazna, Bana, Sardasht, Zuhab—and the Persians demanding the Gul'ambar Plain, the Hawraman Mountain, and lands near Khaniqin. These squabbles, which forbade all border tranquillity, were echoed in the extreme south by the pretensions of both to possess the shoals and islands of the Shaṭṭ. Turkish claims to Muḥammara had indeed by now been abandoned; but jealousies and reprisals on the Shaṭṭ offered a fertile field for piracy, which led in turn to British intervention, the threat of a British Consul at Fao, and the stationing of a gunboat on the river in 1898.

The great pilgrimages by Persians to Najf, Karbalā, Kadhimiya

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

channels of international trade were under frequent exploration at 439
'Iraqi or foreign initiative; during 1945–50 approaches were made by Italian, Yugoslav, Czech, Spanish, Pakistani, and Japanese governmental or commercial bodies. The Persian transit trade by way of Khaniqin persisted, but on no scale comparable with that of a generation earlier and with small hope of increase; and both Persia and Turkey used routes through 'Iraq for the export of small quantities of their goods. The general aspect of 'Iraq's foreign trade was thus, at the end of 1950, on a scale which must seem paradoxically humble in quantity and value for the country's size and potentialities. It reflected the continuing precariousness and backwardness of its agriculture, the slightness of its industry, and the lack of marketable natural resources other than oil. But the new age of accelerated development which could be expected to date from 1951 would not, it was certain, fail to affect and increase both its production and its absorptive power.

Foreign and 'Iraqi Banks, and the *ṣarrafs*, whose numbers the 452
exodus of Jews had diminished, offered the normal services to trade in the provision of credit and discounting of bills. Insurance facilities were given by branches or agents of many British companies, and an all-'Iraqi Insurance Company was in 1950 a project designed on patriotic lines to 'diminish economic dependence' on the world abroad. The currency issued and managed by the 436
National Bank since July 1949 remained that of the 'Iraqi dinar based on sterling, to which bloc the country belonged—but not without a movement or outcry, favoured by some economists and patriots, to secede from it.

Agriculture must remain ever the country's chief resource, and 241
was still the life's occupation of more than two-thirds of its people. [162]
Previous pages have referred to the essential problems of 'Iraqi 185
farming and shown that, for all the efforts of a small department to solve them, little had so far been done to modify the country-wide ancient practices, ignorances, deficiencies, and dangers. But there were, by the mid-century, many hopeful signs. The problems were understood; the social as well as the economic importance of a prosperous countryside, and its connexion with security and with politics, were appreciated. Modern agriculture had attracted the interest and efforts of a part of the educated and capital-owning public; there were even those who preferred it to politics! Tribal shaykhs as well as town-dwelling landowners were found, here and there, to be mechanizing their holdings, abandoning ancient methods and, partnered with scientists, eagerly experimenting. New crop varieties were under trial, the power and range of pumping installations had multiplied, mechanization was diminishing dependence on the indifferent labour of crop-sharing peasants.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

existed in Basra and Baghdad and their suburbs; and the telephone and telegraph had become familiar or indispensable to all classes save the most backward. The new wireless transmitting station completed in 1951 at Abu Ghurayb, with the most modern design and range, secured communication with Europe and America and was used for the national broadcasting. The Development Board planned an expenditure of ID 2 million on telecommunications between 1951 and 1956.

Progress in road improvement was delayed during 1946–50 by the financial narrowness of the post-war years. This and bridge-building formed an important part of the projects[1] intended for realization in 1951–6 through the Development Board. The completion of this programme would fundamentally transform the conditions of transport and travel in 'Iraq, with far-reaching economic consequences. The 'Nairn route' to Damascus was still in regular use; its traffic was highly organized, with air-conditioned vehicles, by the original company and its imitators. The Rawanduz road was little used; the tracks leading into Najd and Persia carried no important traffic; and the trunk route to Jordan or Palestine (p. 321) lost its value when the State of Israel blocked the sea-outlet it had offered.

5. TOWN AND COUNTRY, MID-CENTURY

The population of 'Iraq, declared by the census of 1947 to be 4,800,000, had by then doubled since the century opened. Its distribution[2] was in general unchanged as between towns, inlying villages, tribal country districts, and nomads; about a quarter were town-dwellers, a fifteenth nomads, the remainder settled cultivators. Wide areas of steppe desert and of barren mountain remained, as for the foreseeable future they must, almost uninhabited; the widest of such regions, those of the administratively separated northern and southern provinces of the Shamiya desert, amounted to some two-fifths of 'Iraq's whole surface. The average density of population for the whole territory was of the order of eleven persons to the square kilometre, or, omitting the desert provinces, eighteen. The liwā with the greatest population was that of Baghdad with 800,000 people; next came Diwaniya, Muntafiq, and 'Amara. The greatest density was of 49 persons to the square

[1] The projects considered as 'main roads', with their bridges, were estimated to cost: Basra–'Amara–Kut–Baghdad, ID 2,800,000: Baghdad–Kirkuk–Arbil, 2,500,000: Baghdad–Sharqat, 3,450,00. Elsewhere, ID 4,450,000 was allotted for 'mountain roads', 6,176,000 for miscellaneous bridges, 1,550,000 for a Hilla–Najf road, 1,300,000 for Hilla–Diwaniya–Shamiya, and 5,250,000 for numerous other routes.

[2] For distribution of the population by administrative units, see Appendix B.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

APPENDIX B

Table showing (1) *area and population of each liwā;* (2) *qaḍhās of each liwā, including H.Q. area;* (3) *area (sq. km.) of each qaḍhā;* (4) *population of each qaḍhā.*

Liwā	*Area in sq. km.*	*Population*	*Qaḍhās with* (1) *area,* (2) *population*
Baghdad	20,000	805,000	Baghdad (1,900: 552,000); Kaḍhimiya (1,100: 114,000); Samarrā (15,600: 91,000); Maḥmudiya (1,450: 48,500).
Mosul	48,000	602,000	Mosul (12,900: 340,000); 'Amadiya (2,700: 50,000); Zakho (2,250: 37,000); Dohuk (2,250: 40,000); 'Aqra (1,950: 32,000); Sinjar (16,900: 32,000); Shaykhan (1,400: 24,700); Tall 'Afar (8,250: 45,500).
Baṣra	12,300	352,000	Baṣra (4,700: 206,000); Abu al-Khaṣib (4,000: 81,000); Qurna (3,650: 65,000).
Kirkuk	19,900	286,000	Kirkuk (7,000: 148,000); Kifri (5,300: 48,000); Chamchamal (2,400: 30,000); Ta'uq (5,200: 59,000).
Arbil	18,400	240,000	Arbil (3,500: 86,000); Makhmur (3,500: 44,000); Keui Sānjaq (1,900: 31,000); Rawanduz (5,500: 46,000); Raniya (2,100: 27,000); Zibar (1,950: 6,600).
Sulaymaniya	9,400	223,000	Sulaymaniya (3,000: 77,600); Halabja (3,100: 71,000); Shahribazar (2,000: 38,000); Pishdar (1,250: 35,600).
Dulaym (H.Q., Ramadi)	45,400	193,000	Ramadi (15,600: 111,000); Faluja (4,750: 49,000); 'Ana (25,000: 33,600).
Ḥilla	5,300	262,000	Ḥilla (960: 81,000); Hashimiya (1,900: 52,000); Hindiya (1,200: 82,000); Musayib (1,200: 46,000).
Kut	16,000	225,000	Kut (4,000: 82,000); Ḥai (3,000: 67,500); Badra (3,800: 16,200); Ṣuwayra (5,250: 59,250).
Karbalā	6,000	277,000	Karbalā (5,600: 150,000); Najf (400: 127,000).
Diwaniya	14,900	384,000	Diwaniya (1,800: 63,000); Samawa (4,700: 82,000); Shamiya (2,900: 114,000); Abu Ṣukhayr (1,300: 79,000); 'Afaq (4,200: 46,000).
Muntafiq (H.Q., Naṣiriya)	14,150	370,000	Naṣiriya (5,500: 111,000); Rifa'i (3,200: 82,000); Suq al-Shuyukh (3,800: 109,000); Shaṭra (1,600: 68,000).
Diyalā (H.Q., Ba'quba)	16,000	273,500	Ba'quba (2,050: 94,500); Khaliṣ (3,600: 69,000); Khaniqin (3,750: 57,000); Mandali (6,500: 53,000).
'Amara	18,750	308,000	'Amara (8,650: 184,000); 'Ali al-Gharbi (5,750: 36,000); Qal'at Ṣaliḥ (4,350: 88,500).
Northern desert province	94,700		Population nomadic, and included in adjacent liwās.
Southern desert province	75,700		

Dowson G-5 (1929-30) 1932 MHI Iraq MHI

About four-fifths of the country consists of unproductive or slightly productive desert, steppe, marsh and hill masses. The productive core is divided broadly into two regions within which cultivation is practised regularly. The northern region is fed by rainfall supplemented by perennial streams rising in the mountains and, to a limited extent, by lift from the rivers. The southern region largely depends upon irrigation, supplied by canals drawn from the river system, following winter rainfall. The former may be appropriately called the Rainfall Zone, and the latter the Irrigation Zone. Actually the southward extension of the northern rainfall varies annually, while the date gardens of the Basra Liwa constitute a distinct (and of course economically a very important) study. But this does not affect the correctness of the broad picture presented.

Reference to Table I will show that the region of cultivated and cultivable land within the Rainfall Zone covers about 41,000 square

TABLE I. APPROXIMATE CLASSIFICATION OF LAND SURFACE, 1930

Expressed in square kilometres

Liwa	Total area all land	Hill mass	Cultivated Regions				Additional potentially cultivable territory	Total cultivated and cultivable region	Territory containing tapu holdings	Size of holdings in milisars*			
			Rainfall Zone		Irrigation Zone								
			†3% hill mass	Plains	Canal fed territory†	Machine fed territory†				1-100	101-500	501-1,000	Over 1,001
Mosul	45,800	9,300	190	14,580	—	—	270	15,040	7,670	—	—	—	—
Arbil	16,600	7,620	180	7,010	—	—	—	7,160	2,420	7,418	728	300	—
Sulimani	9,500	6,400	130	2,420	—	—	—	2,550	2,280	—	—	—	—
Kirkuk	20,800	—	—	12,020	—	—	3,240	15,260	6,280	—	—	—	—
Diyala	14,900	—	—	710	2,760	90	360	3,820	3,410	4,092	—	546	—
Baghdad	22,100	—	—	—	1,710	2,270	890	4,870	1,500	162	220	150	360
Dulaim	134,500	—	—	—	930	630	20	1,570	920	2,344	109	121	3
Karbala	21,200	—	—	—	660	—	20	680	680	—	—	—	—
Hilla	8,100	—	—	—	4,570	330	1,630	6,530	2,380	453	364	98	82
Kut	16,800	—	—	—	4,680	3,860	2,170	10,710	2,580	—	—	—	—
Diwaniya	83,000	—	—	—	3,770	2,180	5,520	11,470	2,270	8,378	—	158	69
Muntafiq	38,700	—	—	—	4,440	270	370	5,080	6,280	—	—	—	—
Amara	19,700	—	—	—	5,670	1,010	—	6,680	110	—	10	5	50
Basra	10,900	—	—	—	610‡	60	110	780	1,190	—	—	—	—
Totals	453,500	23,370	470	36,740	29,780	10,700	14,500	92,590	40,060	—	—	—	—

*Where information was available. Such information must not be presumed to be exhaustive. A milisar = 2,500 sq. metres or thereabouts.

†Territories so classified are at present very incompletely irrigated. ‡Chiefly watered date gardens.

kilometres, and that within the Irrigation Zone about 51,000 square kilometres. These figures represent 9 per cent. and 11 per cent. of the total land surface of the country respectively. The cultivation is preponderantly of an extensive character. Only a fraction of these zones, possibly from a fifth to a tenth, appears to be actually cultivated in any given year. So that land is available for a very great development of agriculture, when other factors are favourable.

The information given in the table regarding the size of holdings is derived from fiscal returns. Although the classification of these holdings by area cannot be expected to be accurate, the figures possibly give some indication of the frequency of larger and smaller holdings in the districts actually concerned. The latter must not be taken to coincide with the cultivated areas of the liwas themselves.

8. Agricultural Population

8. In any general study of the land tenure of a country it is desirable to know the numbers and distribution of the agricultural population. Thus it would greatly assist in planning development in el 'Iraq if trust-

161 worthy information was available as to the rural population, their main occupations (e.g. cultivation with type of crops, stock-keeping, fishing, 162 reed cutting, the numbers of the sedentary, semi-nomadic and truly nomadic population, etc.). The figures need not be closely accurate, but they should necessarily be sufficiently reliable relative approximations to allow dependable deductions to be drawn from them. But although continuous and painstaking efforts were made to satisfy this need by the liwa authorities, it has to be admitted that no basis exists for arriving at figures that can be utilised with any confidence. Table II contains the best estimates that the liwa authorities were able to furnish; and the Census Department was not in a position to give me any better material. I include the table, because it at least represents the best local opinion of the position under the various heads cited. It should perhaps be

TABLE II. APPROXIMATE POPULATION, 1930

Expressed in thousands

Liwa	Total estimated population	Three principal towns	Nomadic tribal sections	Rural Population			Mean Density per sq. kilom. cultivated region
				Settled	Tribal	Total	
Mosul ..	320	79	45	176	20	196	22
Arbil ..	106	—	3	47	56	103	15
Sulimani ..	94	—	15	51	28	79	37
Kirkuk ..	160	—	19	63	78	141	13
Diyala ..	240	—	1	79	160	239	67
Baghdad ..	388	219	2	93	74	167	98
Dulaim ..	147	—	59	39	49	88	95
Karbala ..	90	—	2	83	5	88	136
Hilla ..	103	—	—	30	73	103	21
Kut ..	170	—	—	60	110	170	20
Diwaniya ..	238	—	58	79	101	180	40
Muntafiq ..	340	—	20	25	295	320	72
Amara ..	238	—	—	36	202	238	36
Basra ..	190	46	10	34	100	134	284
Totals ..	2,824	344	234	895	1,251	2,546	38*

* Mean density total 76,600 sq. km. cultivated region.

noted more particularly that it was found impossible to separate in any systematic way those engaged in urban, from those engaged in rural, pursuits. Finally, only the populations of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul were excluded from the latter. This explains the misleading density figure for the Karbala Liwa. It should also be noted that the figures given for the agricultural population include all those engaged in rural occupations, other than genuine nomads.

So far as the figures can be accepted the mean density of the rural population per square kilometre of the cultivated region works out at about 19 in the four liwas of the Rainfall Zone, and at about 35 in the five most typical liwas of the Irrigation Zone. These figures are very low, especially for the potentially fertile irrigable lands of the latter; but there is no reason to think that they err on this side. However, it will be appreciated that dependable statistics of the agricultural population are needed to enable development of the country to be pursued to the greatest advantage and with the greatest economy.

166 The extreme mobility of the majority of the population, especially throughout the Irrigation Zone, is an important factor in the considera- 185 tion of development schemes of all sorts, having regard to the general sparsity of the population and the limited resources of the country. If work can be concentrated on such schemes in a few of the most suitable areas, and facilities can be given to the population to colonise them as opportunity and occasion justify, much more rapid and satisfactory results will be obtained for the same effort and expenditure in a given

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

smaller urban and semi-urban communities, the country is essentially rural and dependent upon agriculture. There are, it is estimated, some 35,000 square miles of cultivable land, only twenty per cent of which is cropped in any one year. The country is watered by the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, and is amenable to great irrigational projects. Some large-scale and subsidiary irrigation schemes have been developed and others are under way. Until capital is available, however, to bring much more water to much more land, large areas of potentially arable and pasture land will continue in a state of unexploited fertility.

With the exception of a minority who dwell in the towns and smaller urban communities, the population is sparse and much of it mobile. Out of a total population of some 5,000,000 roughly twenty-two per cent live in urban areas, forty per cent in settled rural communities, thirty per cent in semi-settled rural areas, and eight per cent are nomadic.

The educational and other social problems and needs of the country can only be appreciated if it is realized that Iraq is predominantly rural in character and modes of life and, minor industries and developing oil projects apart, is dependent upon agriculture for its existence. There is a certain amount of industrial activity connected with drink, tobacco, soap, vegetable oils, foot-wear, bricks and a few cotton ginneries, but, generally speaking, the industrial capacity remains undeveloped. Oil output, however, is rapidly increasing, and the royalties from this industry have already made a valuable contribution to badly needed capital works.

Racially, the inhabitants may be roughly divided into seventy-seven per cent Arabs, seventeen per cent Kurds, three per cent Jews, the remainder being Turcomans, Yazidis and Assyrians. The number of Jews has, however, decreased by recent emigration into Palestine. The inhabitants may be further divided into distinctive religious groups, ninety-three per cent being Muslims, three per cent Jews, slightly less than three per cent Christians, the remainder being of miscellaneous faiths. Despite these marked religious differences, a feature of the public educational system of Iraq is its great religious toleration.

Generally speaking, although the inhabitants are distributed into distinctive racial and religious groups, they seem to share some important characteristics which, to the educator, are hopeful and significant. A visitor to the country cannot but be impressed with the great natural courtesy, friendliness and open-hearted hospitality invariably shown by people of all ranks and groups. In addition to these socially valuable characteristics, many of the people exhibit a quickness of response which, in those who have passed

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

But this obstacle can be exaggerated. As a glance at the figures showing the growth of primary education in Iraq indicates, the proportion of girls to boys attending primary schools is not high, but their enrolment is steadily increasing. Although most of the large urban schools are single sex schools, Iraq has the distinction of having many co-educational village schools. The growing number of kindergartens are co-educational. In all the institutions of higher education young men and women work together.

The emancipation of women in Iraq still has a long way to go, but convincing signs of it are evident. It would, nevertheless, be a considerable advance if the Ministry of Education were to encourage the recruitment of a number of women to the staffs of the boys' primary schools. From visits to many Iraqi primary schools it is evident that the standards of the women teachers in matters of personal cleanliness of the children, care and decoration of the school premises, general decorum and pleasant social conduct are higher than those of their men colleagues. Their influence in boys' schools would be most salutary.

The position of children is, of course, difficult when parents, especially in the rural areas, are dependent upon the labour of even very young children. Yet an increasing number of poor parents appear to be sending their children to school. It would be a great inducement to more and regular school attendance if means could be devised of providing free midday meals for some of the children, especially in the village schools. At one of the more modern primary schools in Baghdad attractively cooked and served midday meals are provided, but this is a school attended mainly by children from comfortable homes where the parents can afford to pay for this service. In the rural areas, however, simple food is not expensive, cooking devices and service are cheap, and it should be possible to provide free meals for the needy children at relatively low cost.

It should be noted that effective child labour legislation does not exist in Iraq. Until the time comes when such legislation can be enacted and enforced, compulsory education will be most difficult to apply.

Tribal Organization and Mobility of Population. But the most formidable obstacles of all are those related to tribal organization and mobility of population. There are two particular sets of problems, those of the tribes who are still in a nomadic state, and those of the people who are in the transitional stage of semi-settlement. Between them, it is estimated that these nomadic and semi-settled peoples number nearly 2,000,000 persons, roughly 300,000 of whom are children of primary school age.

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Some eight per cent of these tribal dwellers are still nomadic, and educational arrangements for them will obviously be most difficult to apply. People who are on the move, even if this be in regular seasonal cycles or over more or less fixed areas, are never susceptible to organized education. Even in countries where compulsory education laws have been in effect for several years and where school accommodation for the entire child population exists, it is not easy to make arrangements for the schooling of the children of mobile persons such as caravan and boat dwellers. Clearly, in a country like Iraq where the problem of mobility of population is of much greater magnitude, the conventional type of fixed village school is useless for these peoples. Some of them are not averse to education, and, especially in places where a sheikh is anxious that his own children shall be educated, there is an opportunity for providing educational facilities which would be shared by the other children of the tribal group. It is suggested, therefore, that the time is opportune for giving serious consideration to the training of peripatetic teachers of the kind recommended by the Monroe Commission in 1932.

The more urgent problem of tribal education relates to that majority of the tribal peoples who are in the stage of transition from nomadism to a more settled agricultural life. People who are passing through this transitional stage present great problems but also great opportunities to the educator. They are alleged to lose some of the simpler virtues of people who are forced to submit to the strict tribal laws and codes while they are still wandering in the desert. Be that as it may, they undoubtedly need practical education in the amenities of the more settled life, particularly in matters of health, child care under primitive housing conditions and agricultural practice. Their children also need schooling. These educational needs are becoming more acute because, as has been indicated in a previous chapter when discussing the problem of land tenure, the tribal peoples are losing their former wholesome relationship with the sheikh, who is becoming more of a landlord interested in the produce of his tenants and less of a leader with a responsibility for their welfare.

These needs of the tribal dwellers, therefore, and especially those who are in the semi-settled stage, present a formidable challenge to the Iraqi educator. What is probably needed to meet their peculiar requirements is a team of peripatetic teachers who could travel with the tribes while they are on the move, and who could establish simple schools-cum-community-centres in the places where the tribesmen and their families are gradually settling. So far as is known, devices of this kind are as yet untried; it would be well if a few young men and women of ingenuity and a practical

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Iraq Bedouin MH8

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162 The population of Mosul and Arbil provinces exceeds 630,000, of which 530,000 are Muslims. Of these Muslims, all but 10,000 are Sunnis. There are 60,000 Christians, 32,000 Yezidis and 10,000 Jews. The minorities therefore total only one-fifth of the whole. The Muslims consist of Arabs and Kurds in approximately equal parts, together with some 16,000 Turkomans.

I
[162] Mosul itself is mainly an Arab town with a population of 100,000.
438 It is a great entrepôt for trade in sheep, cattle, wool, grain, hides,
439 intestines, galls and eggs with the thickly populated districts round
436 and also with Syria and Turkey. Its importance in this respect will certainly increase when at long last it is linked by rail with the Syrian frontier at Tel Kuchik and with Baghdad via Baa'iji. Work on this linking is now proceeding, and it is interesting to remember that when it is completed in a couple of years it will form the last stage in the famous Baghdad-Berlin Railway which was the Kaiser's fondest dream. The circumstances under which it will be completed are likely, however, to be very different to those which he visualized.

Arabs

I
8
101 Apart from forming the majority of the inhabitants of Mosul itself, Arabs are found as cultivators on the Tigris both north and south of the town and to the south of the Jebal Sinjar (Sinjar mountain) and as bedouin who range the uncultivated areas to the south-west, west and north-west.

8
619 The bedouin consist of more than one tribe, but by far the most
221 important is the Shammar. This great tribe is of Arabian origin and
721 has in the past been pushed steadily northwards by economic forces
233 and the search for new grazing grounds. With the great improvement in public security during recent years, cultivation has extended further and further from the towns and villages and encroached on the haunts of the Shammar. Formerly the means of livelihood of these bedouin were varied if not all respectable. They included the raiding of the flocks and herds of their weaker neighbours and the extortion of "khuwa" or safe-conduct money from merchants, travellers and others. At the same time they made a perfectly legitimate living from acting as shepherds for the flocks of townsmen and by breeding and selling camels. Nowadays raiding and safe-conduct money have been abolished and motor transport has to a great extent ousted the camel as a carrier in 'Iraq and the neighbouring countries and caused a severe slump in the camel market.

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Iraq Bedou MHI
Kurd MAN

B 619 558 178 461 a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

B 6a3a Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhillool" (trotting camel).

Turkomans

I 173 162 Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tel Affar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Keupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on unexcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebræ of the whale!

Kurds

I 162 K 101 144 619 Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organ-

K 6a2a 657 644 276 619 ized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and

ooo not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Kuwl MAU

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 137 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinārs (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 221 342 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-owners move to their "zōzāns" or summer sheilings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 167 563 648 162 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

4s Wilson G-8 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Yazidis MH 10

I 795 167 648 563 162

readmission afterwards, and also members of other Christian sects belonging to the recognized tribes of Hakkari who accompanied their Nestorian brethren in the War exodus to 'Iraq via Persia. Since the Turks refused to readmit these people and Great Britain, when peace terms were concluded with Turkey, was not in a position to insist, it was necessary to try and find lands for them within the borders of the 'Iraq state. The Assyrians wished to be settled as a homogeneous unit, but this was impossible as it would have meant displacing a large number of Kurds. Many of the Assyrians were settled on such lands as were available, but in 1933 serious trouble broke out between some of these settlers and the 'Iraq Government, and incidents occurred which made it impossible for at any rate all the Assyrians to remain in 'Iraq. Various schemes were examined, including settlement in Brazil, British Guiana and on the Orontes in Syria. None of these, however, proved practicable, and the matter is still in the hands of the Council of the League of Nations. In the meantime 6,000 Assyrians have been settled temporarily on the River Khabur in eastern Syria, and the remainder, numbering some 20,000, are still in 'Iraq. Those in Syria include several complete tribes. The condition of those in 'Iraq may be said to be satisfactory at present and they possess very large numbers of animals of all kinds. Many are also employed as mechanics, clerks, etc., by the big oil companies and in the 'Iraq railways and police. All these possess 'Iraqi nationality. A certain number are also employed as aerodrome guards by the British Royal Air Force, duties which are shared by them with Arabs and Kurds. The Assyrians are a brave, hardy race, though obstinate as isolated, uneducated mountaineers are liable to be. It is indeed a tragedy that they should have been caught up in the wheel of events and severely mangled in the process.

[I 463]

I 147

The Yezidis

Y 101 776 779 871 771

The Yezidis are usually known as "devil-worshippers." This is, however, a misnomer. "Devil-propitiators" would be more correct. They believe that Satan, whom they call Mālik Tāūs or the Peacock Angel, was exiled from Heaven for a definite period and is, after the lapse of a few thousand years, to be restored to high favour. It is incumbent on them therefore to keep on the right side of him, so that he may then use his influence on their behalf. It is extremely difficult to investigate the Yezidi religion. The priests teach that education, save for their caste, is forbidden by the "Black Books," the Yezidi

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Yazidis MH 10

The Yezidis in 'Iraq practically all dwell either in the Sinjār or Shaikhān districts. Each of these districts has a brass peacock and that belonging to Shaikhān must never cross the Tigris. If it did so the world would come to an end! Non-Yezidis cannot view the peacocks or the other sacred emblems, which include the "shema'dan" or candlestick and the "bairaqs" or banners. When not touring, all emblems are kept at the residence of the *Mir* at Baa'dhra in Shaikhān, though a few years ago the Sinjār Yezidis, who were at variance with the *Mir*, seized their peacock and collected subscriptions on their account until compelled by Government to return it to its lawful keeper. Yezidis object strongly to the use of the word "Shaitān" (Satan) or any word resembling it. Terms meaning "curse" are also never used less Satan construes them as a tactless reminder of his fall.

Owing to these difficulties and restrictions, Yezidis are not "good mixers" and rarely enter Government service. A few were formerly employed by the British Government in the transport company of the 'Iraq Levies, but did not prove very satisfactory. Occasionally they have enlisted in the 'Iraq army, but an attempt to apply a light measure of conscription to the Sinjār Yezidis resulted in an armed revolt by five villages. This necessitated punitive action with, unfortunately, heavy casualties on both sides. The Yezidis speak a form of Kurdish, but many also know Arabic. Ain Sifni or Ain-i-Safina (Spring of the Boat) is the chief market town of the Shaikhān Yezidis. It derives its name from a tradition that the Ark touched ground there.

Yezidis are to be found outside 'Iraq in the Caucasus and also a few thousand north of Aleppo.

It is difficult to believe that this curious religion can long survive in 'Iraq under present-day conditions. The *Mir* is unpopular and there is no better successor amongst his in-bred and degenerate relatives. The Yezidis have recently refused to yield him many of his former rights and have severely criticised his squandering of the religious revenues. Most of the members of the hierarchy have concentrated their energies on trying to divert funds to their own pockets and have quarrelled furiously. A certain number of stalwarts have defied the priests and attended schools. In the Sinjār prior to the Great War religious pressure induced a considerable number of Yezidis to adopt Islam, and it is within the bounds of possibility that ere long there may be a regular landslide to either the Christian or Islamic faith or both.

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Levantine Jews MF1

Jews

J 174 The Jews in 'Iraq are said to be the descendants of those taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar and brought to Babylon, where they were employed on the rebuilding of that city and on the upkeep of the canals on which its wealth depended.

J 871 176 784 403 In Mosul till recently the Jewish standard of education was lamentably low and their religious observances entirely out of keeping with those of modern Jewry. Even there, however, an astute Jewish brain invented an instrument controlled by clockwork to turn on and off electric switches at fixed hours and so avoid the sin of making fire on the Sabbath.

J 871 The very generous Jewish philanthropist Sir Elly Khaduri, has in recent years provided funds to build excellent schools for the community, and it is hoped that a great improvement in the education of the Jewish children will result.

I 162 563 J 286 101 142 463 J 101 463 631 In Kurdistan, Jews of whom many are weavers are found in all the small towns and also in many otherwise purely Kurdish villages, where they live in perfect amity with their Muslim neighbours. In dress they are practically indistinguishable from the Kurds but easily recognizable by their facial features. In the most remote mountain areas Jewish villages exist the inhabitants of which are cultivators and possess vineyards and orchards. The reason for the survival of these villages in the lawless past is that they and their inhabitants were the property of powerful Kurdish Aghas who were strong to protect their serfs as they would have protected their sheep, cattle or mules. Throughout Kurdistan the ubiquitous itinerant Jewish pedlar may be met who, quite unarmed, is surprisingly immune from molestation.

J 181 186 The Jews of northern 'Iraq are not at all interested in Zionism and form a very useful, law-abiding, hard-working section of the population.

I 182 I 563 657 It is difficult, if not impossible, within the compass of a short lecture, to give an adequate description of the curious elements who make up the attractive mosaic of northern 'Iraq. In the not very distant past the 'Iraq Government has incurred, and rightly incurred, strong criticism of its treatment of some of the peoples who go to make up this mosaic. It should be realized, however, that the administration of the Mosul and Arbil provinces and the solution of the diverse and difficult problems they present is a matter which might well test the skill and patience of any government, even if far more experienced than that of the new state of 'Iraq.

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cal resources of other countries. It will be noted throughout this report that the Mission has made numerous recommendations for the procurement of foreign technical assistance. These recommendations are in no sense a disparagement of the talent and skills now available in Iraq. They represent rather a recognition that a country whose development has been severely handicapped by limited financial resources in the past cannot now suddenly expect to launch a development program involving rapid expansion in virtually every field without availing itself of the many opportunities to obtain technical help from abroad.

II. Agriculture

Any development program for Iraq must obviously put primary emphasis on agriculture. Over 60 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, and both industry and commerce depend in turn largely upon farming and animal husbandry. Moreover, large increases in output can be realized both by raising the productivity of livestock and farm land already in use and by bringing under cultivation large areas presently idle.

Existing Conditions

Agriculture in Iraq is devoted largely to the cultivation of winter crops. Because of the lack of rain in the summer, during that season crops can be grown only under irrigation. In the rain-fed zone of the North, summer crops can be grown only on a moderate scale in small irrigated areas. In the irrigated zone of central and southern Iraq the limited water supply restricts the area devoted to summer crops to only about one quarter of that grown to winter crops. Barley and wheat are the only significant winter crops, while rice and, more recently, cotton are the principal summer crops. The area sown to sesame, corn, millet and grain sorghum is comparatively insignificant. Tobacco assumes some importance in the mountainous areas of the North. Fruit and vegetables are quite important. Iraq is the world's principal producer and exporter of dates; excellent citrus fruit is grown, particularly in the Diyala Valley in east-central Iraq, for domestic con-

sumption; and other fruits and nuts are cultivated, mainly in the North.

Livestock raising is an adjunct to agriculture rather than an integral part of it. Sheep and goats predominate because they thrive despite poor grazing and feeding. Sheep and goats, as well as camels, are kept primarily by pastoral nomads who probably number well over 200,000. Cattle and water buffaloes are the livestock of the settled agricultural population. Many peasants, however, have no livestock at all except for a draft animal or two. Livestock are left to forage for themselves, with only some supplementary feeding with straw and perhaps barley in the winter. Only livestock in and around the cities are systematically fed.

Crop yields are generally low. The water supply is frequently inadaquate. Agricultural methods have on the whole remained unchanged for centuries. Little or no animal manure or fertilizer is applied to the soil, animal dung being used largely for fuel. Crop rotation is wholly inadequate and makes little or no provision for soil-building crops. Salinity, attributable to poor drainage, has materially lowered the productivity of land in the irrigation zone. Owing to insufficient and poor draft animals and lack of proper equipment, the soil is often poorly prepared, and weeds detract from the yields. Up to half of the winter crop area is left fallow as a means of restoring fertility, but since the land is generally allowed to go up in weeds to afford grazing for animals, the efficacy of the fallow system is limited. The productivity of livestock is also low, primarily because of inadequate feeding, but also because of poor breeding, disease and insufficient shelter.

Except for some rather limited areas in various parts of Iraq and a promising settlement in the Dujaila district of south-central Iraq, the country is almost wholly devoid of peasant proprietors. The ownership of cultivated lands is largely in the hands of sheikhs and urban proprietors who entrust the actual cultivation in small parcels to sharecroppers. These sharecroppers have neither the equipment nor the knowledge to increase production and for the most part eke out a bare subsistence.[2] The land assigned to the

[2] According to the cadastral survey which is half completed, 67.1 percent of the privately-owned land is in units exceeding 1.000 donums. (One donum equals 0.25 hectares or 0.617761 acres.)

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obviously based on a fixed rate of seed per donum (e.g. 15 kg. for wheat, 20 kg. for rice and barley) which has been applied regularly in almost every year. Yet the rate of seeding undoubtedly varies from one part of the country to another. An explanation of the methods of computation, of the reasons therefor and the degree of reliance that can be placed on them are certainly called for.

Again, population statistics have been published for each province, based on a hand-count of the census results. The fact that these published figures contain an estimate for nomads might well be stated. A more important omission is an explanation of the very marked discrepancy between men and women. It is well-known that there is strong tendency in many parts of the country to record male children as female and the returns for the lower age groups confirm this in a striking manner. At least some preliminary note on how this affects the validity of the results would be advisable. A good example of an appropriate warning is the qualifying note introducing the vital statistics which have been published.

Closely allied to reliability is clarity of definition. It is not possible to use statistics properly, if it is not clear what they mean. As an example of this, the figures for cultivable land made available to the Mission and shown in Table 2 of Annex A may be cited. If definitions are not clear, a series of statistics may lack continuity. An example of this is the published figures for electricity consumption in the various provinces, which are divided into three groups—lighting, manufacturing and other purposes. It is not clear what "other purposes" means. Moreover, although the definition evidently changed in Mosul between 1945 and 1946, no explanation is given and no adjustment has been made. In general, too, a number of units of weight or capacity, such as the *mann* and the *hukka*, are used in the Abstract without stating their equivalent in more standard units. The fact that these units vary from one commodity to another and, it is said, from one city to another makes it all the more necessary to state the precise equivalent in the context used.

Statistics should also be properly selected. If statistical publications are not to become a mass of unwieldy detail, a proper balance has to be struck between what is to be included and what is to be excluded. The Abstract, at present, contains much detailed medical and legal data of a somewhat specialized nature. On agri-

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relieved by low ranges and depressed areas of which the major one is the Wadi Tharthar. It is sparsely inhabited by pastoral nomads although in the North some settled farming, made speculative by irregular rainfall, is carried on.

The second region, extending downstream from Ramadi on the Euphrates and Baghdad on the Tigris and including the Diyala River Valley, is the area where most irrigation projects have been carried out in the past. Pump irrigation predominates on the banks of the three rivers where the land is high and water is easily accessible. For the more remote areas flow irrigation is provided by canals dependent on the Hindiya barrage on the Euphrates, the Kut barrage on the Tigris and the Diyala weir on the Diyala River. Here flow irrigation between the two main rivers is facilitated by the fact that in the Baghdad region the Euphrates is higher than the Tigris, while below Baghdad the Tigris is above the Euphrates. In this region barley is the principal winter crop, followed by wheat. Summer crops are limited by lack of water, but among them cotton has become in recent years by far the most prominent, leaving sorghum, sesame, green gram, corn and millet far behind. Fruit culture is important. Dates are widely grown, both for domestic consumption and for export; and the Diyala Valley in particular produces excellent citrus fruit. Rice is an important crop between Nejf and Diwaniya on the Euphrates and around Rumaitha farther down the river. The country's major concentration of population lies in the region comprising the district about Baghdad and the provinces of Hilla, Kerbela and parts of Kut and Diwaniya. It includes the capital, Baghdad, a city with a population of 550,000 and the leading commercial and industrial center of the country.

The third region—the Basra, Nasiriya, Amara triangle—is generally one vast marsh during the spring floods. Here the rural dwellings are of reeds and brushwood, in contrast to the rest of the country where mud huts and, in the mountains of the North, stone houses predominate. Rice grown in the naturally inundated marshland is the staple food, varied by fish; and the water buffalo is the prevailing type of livestock. Here also is the world's largest date palm belt stretching along both sides of the Shatt al Arab and contributing one of Iraq's principal exports. Basra, Iraq's only port, is the largest city of this region and handles most of the country's foreign trade.

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conditions in the future, the rate could rise to two percent per annum or even higher within a comparatively short period. Obviously this possibility will have to be borne in mind in planning the development of social services such as education and housing. It also has important implications in agriculture. As the limited supply of water is more fully utilized, most of the increase in population may ultimately have to be absorbed in nonagricultural pursuits, unless water is used much more efficiently than it is now.

As the standard of social services such as health and education is higher in the cities and the opportunities for employment are more varied, the distinction between urban and rural population is an important one in considering the age and sex distribution of the people, their occupations and their standard of living. About 550,000 people live in the municipality of Baghdad, another 300,000 in the next three largest cities of Mosul, Basra and Kirkuk and some 350,000 in other towns having a population of over 15,000. Thus about 1.2 million people or a quarter of the population live in sizeable urban communities. In addition, there are about a hundred smaller municipalities having an aggregate population of under half a million. These towns are usually the administrative and market centers of the minor political subdivisions such as *qadhas* and *nahiyas* and many of them are little more than large villages; in many respects they form a semirural category intermediate between the larger towns and the villages.

There has been a strong migration from the country to the cities in recent years, particularly during the last war. The most striking examples of this can be seen in Baghdad and Basra where many thousands of "squatters" from Amara province are crowded together in makeshift huts under extremely unhygienic conditions. The peculiarly adverse conditions of life in Amara have made that province the principal source of migrants to the large cities and, indeed, to most parts of the country, but there has evidently been a substantial movement from the rural areas in general. As it is prima facie likely that these migrants would consist principally of young adults or adolescents, especially men, it is not surprising to find that the census shows a much higher proportion of the very young (under 10) and the old (over 50) in the rural areas, the disparity being even more marked among men than among

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162 women. The census returns, in fact, record an extraordinarily large excess of women over men in some parts of the country—e.g., 57 percent in the three rural *qadhas* of Muntafiq province—but there is good reason to believe that such figures, while indicative of the true position, are generally exaggerated.

Occupation

162 463 The major occupation is agriculture and animal husbandry. Nearly two thirds of the people live in the rural villages. As handicrafts are rarely found in the villages and only a few people are absorbed by such secondary occupations as trade and transport, it is likely that 85 to 90 percent of the rural population lives directly off the land.

Many of the inhabitants of the smaller and even some of the larger towns are also engaged in agriculture. In Tel Afar, a town of 20,000 in the principal grain-growing region of Mosul province, over three quarters of the male population whose occupation was recorded gave it as agriculture. This, however, is probably exceptional and the proportion would, no doubt, be considerably less than half in many smaller towns. Even in the largest cities, there is a smaller but far from negligible proportion of the population employed in agriculture, principally in the production of vegetables, dates and other fruits or in raising livestock for the city market.

In all, the number of people in families whose income is derived directly from work on the land is probably in the neighborhood of 60 percent of the total population. This method of expressing the percentage is used advisedly. A much higher figure could certainly be given for the number of people occupied since most [464] of the rural population is employed to some extent. Unemployment, as opposed to underemployment, is largely an urban problem. In the rural areas the number of men whose occupation was recorded by the census is often nearly as large as the number over [859 887] 10 years of age. This, no doubt, corresponds closely to the facts, since even young children tend flocks and perform other light work on the land while old men help with such tasks as threshing. [462] Women, too, are an important source of agricultural labor, particularly at harvest time, although this is inadequately reflected in the census.

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In the towns, on the other hand, the occupations of a much smaller proportion of the males were recorded. And, moreover, many of those that were recorded fell into various ill-defined categories, which very probably include a large number of the unemployed or the unproductive (e.g., school children). There is, also, far less opportunity for work by women in the towns.

The estimate of 60 percent for the agricultural population would leave rather less than two million people in the families of those employed in other occupations. In this sector the labor force may be estimated at about 400,000 to 450,000 men and some 30,000 women or about 450,000 in all, with a considerable margin of error on either side. Some idea of the distribution of these workers is given in the following table.

TABLE 1

NONAGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE
(in thousands)

Commerce	110
Personal and public service	70
Manufacturing and handicraft	75
Transport	45
Government (including police)	55
	355
Other categories; errors and omissions	95
	450

This table, which is necessarily a compound of industrial and occupational classifications and consequently contains a few duplications, must be interpreted as only a rough estimate giving broad orders of magnitude.

After agriculture, commerce is certainly the most important occupational group; the census records nearly 50,000 (including a few women) in the four largest cities alone. There is probably at least an equal number in the rest of the country, since one of the main functions of the smaller towns is to serve as centers of retail

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trade for the surrounding countryside and as collection centers for its produce. Even in the smallest towns rows of small shopkeepers' booths can be seen and the larger towns usually have extensive bazaars.

Private and public service is another important group of occupations. Besides domestic service it includes such occupations as laundering and catering, the latter a not unimportant category in a country where the coffee-house is a center of social activity. In the four provinces for which data is available, there were 45,000 (of which 6,000 were women) in this group. The estimate given above does not seem excessive for the country as a whole.

A more detailed classification of workers employed in manufacturing will be found in Table 7. This table is based largely on statistics of workers employed in factories which have been compiled by the Labor Directorate from returns by factory inspectors. These figures are, however, acknowledged to be incomplete, particularly as regards the large numbers of handicraft workers who are self-employed with one or two assistants. From the census data it is evident that there are a large number of additional workers occupied in woodworking and allied occupations (e.g., working with palm leaves or reeds) and in tailoring or dressmaking; some addition would also have to be made for jewelry and textile workers. The figure of 75,000 given here includes an estimate for these additions.

The estimate for transportation, which includes all employees of the railways and the Port of Basra, is a particularly rough one. It is believed, however, to be of the right order of magnitude. The figure for government workers is reasonably accurate, although it may duplicate to some extent workers in other categories already specified. The residual figure, of course, is subject to an extremely wide margin of error. It includes all categories not mentioned elsewhere such as construction workers and the professions insofar as they are not employed by the government.

Literacy

The acquisition of skill is severely limited by lack of education. Education is, as the monograph on that subject shows, broader than the mere ability to read and write, but the degree of

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consequence not only of the increase in population, but also of the shift from the rural areas, where barley is often a staple element in the diet. 438 439 262

Large quantities of rice are produced, but the surplus for export has always been very small. The only other cereal exported in any quantity is millet.

Animal Produce. The principal animal products exported by Iraq are wool, live animals, hides and skins and casings (intestines), usually in that order of importance. The sheep is the main source of these products, providing all the wool and usually the bulk of the other products. As with dates and cereals, the quantities exported vary greatly from year to year, sheep being vulnerable not only to disease, but also to extremes of winter cold and summer drought. In contrast with the other main exports, however, there has been no tendency for exports of animal products to increase. Exports of wool, hides and skins have, on the whole, been below prewar levels, while those of casings have fallen off badly. As animals are often taken across the frontier on the hoof, customs returns of live animals exported are not reliable. The recorded decrease since before the war, is, however, too large to be discounted. 433 439

Information on the animal population and on the domestic consumption of meat and other products is sketchy and unreliable. A rise in the consumption of meat could well explain the loss of exports of live animals, but this in turn would tend to make available a larger, not smaller, supply of most by-products. Part of the explanation of the fall in export products may lie in a declining sheep population owing to the gradual shift from the pastoral life to settled agriculture and from agriculture to the towns. The monograph on agriculture and animal husbandry discusses the shortcomings of the livestock industry and recommends measures to improve livestock raising and the quality of livestock products. The value of exports of animal products is likely to continue its downward trend unless these measures are undertaken speedily and vigorously. [233 112]

Sheep are especially important as a potential source of dollars. Wool is the most important export to the United States, which also takes all the casings exported and considerable quantities of 439 457

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873 eradication of illiteracy, but primarily as a means to an end—so that adults may benefit more fully from a continuous program of education which will show them what they can do individually and collectively to improve their own lot. As one authority has said, the task must be conceived "as a matter of going out into the field, of working in the communities, organizing their activities, improving their health and farming methods, establishing cooperatives and small cottage industries and tying all this up in the education and making the whole thing as closely knit an activity as possible."[3] The object must be to awaken in people an understanding of their problems and an urgent desire to solve them, not relying upon government to do everything but developing local initiative and resourcefulness to overcome some of the handicaps which they have suffered passively for centuries. Only this type of fundamental education, which, in recent years, has been advocated by UNESCO and many discerning educators in various countries, will be of practical value to the people of Iraq. In fact, unless the general receptiveness, understanding and cooperative spirit of the people are greatly quickened and stimulated by an educational campaign of this nature, the pace with which the country's development program can be carried out will seriously lag.

Magnitude of the Problem

•[162] The proposed adult education campaign should be aimed primarily at those groups in the population which are beyond primary school age but are still receptive, namely those between the ages of 12 and 45 inclusive. On the basis of the census results available for the four provinces of Basra, Baghdad, Kirkuk and Mosul, it may be assumed that roughly 40 percent of the population are in this age group. In a total population of about 5,000,000 it may therefore be estimated that 2,000,000 should be reached by adult education. The number in this age group will gradually increase

[3] Dr. Matta Akrawi, *Background Paper on Fundamental Education in the Arab World* presented to the Second United Nations' Seminar on Social Welfare in the Arab States, held at Cairo in 1950. Aside from this paper and the Report of the Committee on Rural Basic Education drawn up for this Seminar, a large amount of useful information on the aims and methods of fundamental education is available in UNESCO publications such as *Adult Education—Current Trends and Practices; Fundamental Education—Description and Program; The Use of Mobile Cinema and Radio Vans in Fundamental Education*, etc.

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II. Rural Communities

About one third of the people live in towns and cities; of the remainder, a small proportion are nomads and the bulk live in villages. In terms of population, therefore, the villages are the more predominant type of community. Although the distinction between a village and a small municipality is, as already noted, somewhat arbitrary, even the smallest municipalities are centers of local administration and have certain facilities of a higher standard than the villages. The distinction will, in any event, serve for present purposes.

Virtually all the rural population live in villages, isolated dwellings being very rare. Landowners, in fact, frequently count their fellahin by villages. Except for the extreme northwest, where there are seminomadic pastoral tribes who live in settled communities for only part of the year, the inhabitants of the villages are mainly cultivators. A few members of the community may have other occupations such as the tending of sheep and goats, the keeping of small shops and coffee houses or the building and repairing of huts. There are, also, villages where a considerable number of the people are engaged in handicrafts (e.g. weaving) but these are rare.

In the North, stone is generally available and is the commonest material for buildings, while in the South and the Center, mud is the usual material. The mud plaster of walls is reinforced with straw or cow dung to minimize the washing of clay in the mortar when it rains and to prevent temperature cracks. Where the climate is drier and palm leaves or reeds are available, especially in the marshes and palm belt of the South, these materials are more extensively used.

Another feature which distinguishes the North from the rest of the country is the greater permanence of the villages. The main reason is probably that there is a much older tradition of settled cultivation than exists in the recently irrigated areas. Not only are there more small-holders, who would naturally have a close association with their land, but the fellahin also appear to have A GREATER SECURITY OF TENURE.

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port traffic and such associated activities as the packing of dates, cleaning of barley and flour-milling (a new industry), Basra is closely bound up with the development of the new oil field at Zubair, some 10 miles inland. Basra, like Baghdad, received a large influx of people during the war, especially from nearby Amara.

The population of Kirkuk, the fourth city, is believed to have tripled in the last 25 years as a consequence of the development of Iraq's major oil field. The two holy cities in Kerbela province, Kerbela and Nejf, have a large transient population due to pilgrim traffic from Iran and other Moslem countries. These two cities have many handicraft workers in such trades as jewelry, brass-work and embroidery.

These six cities, together with Amara, are the only ones with a population of over 40,000. With a few exceptions, such as Khanaqin with its small oil field and refinery, the other municipalities function primarily as centers of administration and trade for surrounding districts. Broadly speaking, their size varies with their administrative importance. Of the provincial capitals, other than those already mentioned, five have a population between 20,000 and 40,000 and three between 10,000 and 20,000. Of the remaining municipalities, none has a population exceeding 20,000; less than 30, most of them centers of *qadhas*, have a population of more than 6,000.

Despite differences in size and function, the cities and towns have a number of characteristics in common. The older parts are usually congested with narrow streets and alleys. Houses are built around courtyards, the only opening to the street being the main doorway. The houses usually have a flat roof or a partially open second story for sleeping outside in the summer. Brick is the commonest building material; most of the larger towns have brick-works nearby, many of which are small and primitive. There are also a few modern concrete and steel buildings, mainly in Baghdad. Schools and hospitals can be found in the heart of these congested areas. An important section in every city is the *Suq* or bazaar, a network of alleys, often covered by crude roofs forming a series of arcades. These alleys are lined with the small shops of retail merchants and handicraft workers in textiles and metals. The *Suq* is usually located near the principal mosque.

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/31 /61 The territory of Iraq, which is shaped like an irregular triangle (see Map No. 1), covers an area of 435,223 square kilometres. At the time of the 1947 census, its population was 4,800,000 inhabitants, or 11 inhabitants per square kilometre.

● /62 Over 75 per cent of the population of Iraq are Arabs. They live mainly in the centre and south of the country. The next most numerous inhabitants are the Kurds (over 15 per cent of the population), who live mainly in the north and especially in the region of Mosul. There are also some Persians, Armenians, Turks, Jews and others.

/33 The country, which is mountainous in the north and north-east, spreads out into the vast Mesopotamian plateau, which inclines gradually as it nears the Persian Gulf. This plateau, which was famous in ancient times for its network of irrigation channels, is now merely an arid steppe, and in some places even a desert.

Iraq is watered by the historic twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, which are the country's vital arteries. The Euphrates (Shatt el-Furat in Arabic) is approximately 3,000 kilometres long; its basin covers 673,000 square kilometres. The Tigris (Shatt el-Dijla), which is approximately 2,150 kilometres long, is joined by several tributaries, including the Shatt el-Gharraf, the Diyala, the Great Zab and the Little Zab. Its basin covers an area of 375,000 square kilometres. The Tigris and the Eu-

riya), and Sulaimaniya. The capital of Iraq is Baghdad, with a population of 552,047 inhabitants, according to the census of 19 November 1947. Baghdad, which is situated on the Tigris and is the terminus and junction of all the Iraqi railways, is an active centre of trade and traffic. Other large towns are Mosul (340,541 inhabitants), Basra (206,302), Amara (183,870), Karbala (149,710), Kirkuk (148,349), Nasiriya (110,934), Ramadi (110,684), and Baquba (94,482).

B. *General features of the economy*

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main resource of Iraq's economy. According to estimates, approximately 80 per cent of the population are engaged in it. The fertile land of Iraq, which was regarded as one of the granaries of the world in the time of Herodotus and which was carefully watered by a well-planned system of irrigation until the thirteenth century of our era, has since then fallen into a state of neglect. Agriculture began to receive attention again in 1921. As droughts, dust storms and plagues of insects (especially in the Mosul region) cause serious depredations, the government supervises the condition of the country's agriculture and stock-raising and takes the necessary measures for their rational development: it has set up experimental farms, which also produce good quality seeds for the use of farmers, and is encouraging the mechanizatio of agriculture.

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the right to establish and maintain schools for the instruction of their members in their own languages, and provides that government appointments shall be made without discrimination in accordance with capacity. Parliament must, by law, contain six Christian deputies; the provision for a similar number of Jewish deputies was cancelled after the emigration of 1951–2 had left the Jewish community insufficient members to qualify for representation.

It is absolutely impossible to reckon with any accuracy the strength of the various religious communities. At a very rough approximation the Muslims might be estimated at 4½ million, Christians at 150,000, Jews (since the emigration of some 130,000) at something less than 10,000, and other groups at 50,000.

(*a*) *Islam*

The Sunni and Shii sects are suspicious and intolerant of each other, as are also the Arab and Kurdish members of the Sunni group. Statistics are lacking, but it would appear that the Shiis slightly outnumber the Sunni Arabs and are less than Sunni Arabs and Kurds combined.

The Sunnis live mainly in the north of Iraq and in the *liwas* of Baghdad, Diala, and Dulaim. There is one notable Sunni shrine in the country, that of Shaikh Abdul-Qadir al-Gailani, whose mosque and tomb in Baghdad are a centre of pilgrimage from regions as remote as India.

The Shiis form a majority in the central *liwas* of Kut, Diwaniya, Kerbela, and Hilla and in the southern *liwas* of Basra, Amara, and Muntafiq. Their religious life has as its background the four Holy Cities of Kerbela, Najaf, Kadhimain, and Samarra and their shrines. Najaf is the burial place of Ali, the first Imam; Kerbela of Hussain, the third Imam. Thousands of Shiis from Persia, Afghanistan, and India take part in the traditional pilgrimages to the Holy Cities, where, during the first ten days of the religious month of Muharram, is enacted the famous Passion Play commemorating the death of Hussain ibn Ali at the battle of Kerbela in A.D. 680. The Shii Mujtahids exercise not only religious but at times also political influence, as was demonstrated in the tribal insurrection of 1920 and on numerous subsequent occasions. The Shiis are rectifying their exclusion under Ottoman rule from political and administrative power and their non-participation in advanced education; some recent Cabinets have contained more than four Shiis, and in 1953–4 there was a Shii Prime Minister.

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(*b*) *Christian Churches*

Christianity was already gaining a hold in northern Mesopotamia by the middle of the second century A.D., when that region was part of the Roman Empire, while southern Iraq was governed as part of the Persian Empire of the successive Parthian and Sasanian dynasties. The so-called Church of Persia declared itself autocephalous in A.D. 424, and at the Council of Ephesus (431) adopted the doctrine of Nestorius, thus separating itself from orthodox Christendom. Subsequently two groups professing the Monophysite doctrine in opposition to the Council of Chalcedon (451) settled in the area and organized their own communities and hierarchies—the Syrian 'Orthodox' or Jacobite Church and the Armenian 'Orthodox' or Gregorian Church. From the seventeenth century onwards minority sections of these three churches have acknowledged Papal supremacy while retaining their own rites and customs and enjoying autonomy under their own elected Patriarchs: these sections are known respectively as the Chaldaean, Syrian Catholic, and Armenian Catholic Churches. Prior to the First World War the Nestorian Church, which had been largely destroyed by Timur Leng and had lost many of its remaining Iraqi members to the Chaldaean (Uniate) Church, survived mainly in the mountains of Persia and Turkey. At the end of the war some 25,000 of its members, now known as Assyrians, were introduced by the British authorities into Iraq and were settled extensively in the north, where they suffered severely in the events of 1933.[1] In addition to the above sects, there are smaller numbers of Orthodox and Catholics of Byzantine rite (the so-called Greek Catholics). Of them all the Patriarch of only one—the Chaldaean Church—resides in Iraq. Today the ancient theological differences which distinguished them are almost forgotten by their ordinary members, among whom the difference is rather one of liturgy, ecclesiastical discipline, and hierarchy; this is, however, sufficient to constitute minute nations rather than congregations, recognized by the Government as possessing competence in matters of personal status and other internal affairs. The Christians are more fully an urban community than the Muslims, and show a peculiar aptitude for commerce, crafts, and the professions; but there is also a large peasant community, Chaldaean, Syrian Orthodox, and Syrian Catholic, in the plains around Mosul, and Assyrians in the vicinity of Amadiya and Rowanduz.

[1] See above, pp. 57–8.

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(*c*) *Jews*

Until recently Iraq contained a large community of Jews whose families had been settled in the country for hundreds or even thousands of years. They lived mostly in the large towns, especially Baghdad, in whose economic life they played an important part as merchants, financiers, manufacturers, and members of the professions. There were also Kurdish-speaking Jews in the north, mostly urban traders and craftsmen but also rural cultivators. A law of 1931 gave Jewish communities self-government in their own affairs, and there was a highly organized communal life, with schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions. In consequence of events in Palestine the majority of Jews left Iraq in 1950–1, mostly for Israel.

(*d*) *Yazidis*

These are vulgarly known as 'devil-worshippers' but, although their religion includes the propitiation of Satan, it might more justly be described as an amalgam of Christian, Muslim, and Magian elements. They are divided between Jebel Sinjar and the Shaikhan district north of Mosul, speak a Kurdish dialect, except in their rites, where Arabic is used, and are probably of Kurdish origin.

(*e*) *Sabians*

('Baptists'), also called the Mandaeans and the 'Christians of St John'; their religion combines elements of various origins and periods. Most of them are craftsmen—especially silversmiths—in the large towns.

(*f*) *Shabak*

Of Kurdish origin, who live in the area of the Yazidis and are not clearly distinguished from them; their religion contains Yazidi and extreme Shii elements.

(*g*) *Other Sects*

Include Bahais, Sarlis, Kakais, Qizilbashis, none of them of any political significance.

Political History

Written history began in Iraq at the end of the fourth millennium B.C., but archaeological remains from much earlier periods, first in the north and later also in the south, give evidence of palaeolithic man, of agricultural neolithic man and, from the sixth and fifth millennia, of increasing human progress expressed successively in extensive agriculture, copper

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cent of Iraq's oil revenues. The cost of the initial programme of the Board, as approved by Parliament, covers the years 1951–6 and is estimated at ID155,374,000. It provides for studies and research and training of Iraqi engineers and technicians; an ambitious plan for irrigation and drainage, including a number of major projects; the construction of roads, bridges, hospitals and health institutes, schools, housing for labourers and officials and public buildings; land reclamation, afforestation, agricultural research, animal husbandry; development of water-supplies, health resorts, aerodromes; industrial and mining projects. The programme of the Development Board has taken account of the report[1] of the mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which, at the request of the Government of Iraq, visited Iraq in 1951 to review the country's economic potentialities and assist the Government to formulate a long-term programme for the further development of productive resources.

By the end of 1953 measures had been taken towards the implementation of practically every item of this programme. Of the major projects, work on the Tharthar scheme for Tigris flood control was well in hand and its completion scheduled for March 1956. The Habbaniya scheme was sufficiently advanced to permit flood control of the Euphrates; work had already begun on the barrage, which would be completed at the end of 1955. Preliminary work was in progress for the construction of dams on the rivers Diala, Lesser Zab, and Greater Zab, and schemes were under investigation for drainage and water utilization in the south and the generation of hydro-electric power. The construction of a bitumen refinery at Qaiyara, south of Mosul, was imminent and designs were complete for cement plants at Mosul and Kirkuk and a cotton textile factory of an annual capacity of 25 million square yards in Mosul.

Agriculture.

Iraq is predominantly an agricultural country. It is estimated that about 80 per cent of the population derives its living directly or indirectly from the soil and, apart from oil, exported products are almost entirely agricultural. Nevertheless only some 20 per cent of the total area of the country is cultivable, and only some 36 per cent of this is actually under cultivation. The cultivable area has two main divisions: first the region to the north and east of a line running south of Mosul and Kirkuk to Khanaqin, where the rainfall is sufficient to permit the cultivation of winter crops without irrigation; and second, the

[1] IBRD, *The Economic Development of Iraq* (Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1952).

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CHAPTER VI

THE ARABS OF MESOPOTAMIA

MESOPOTAMIA does not belong to Arabia geographically. It lies to the north of the peninsula and includes the territory between the mountains of Asia Minor on the north, the mountains of Persia on the east, the Syrian desert on the west and the Persian Gulf on the south. The area enclosed between these limits is enormous. These are its natural boundaries, but politically the territory included takes in certain districts that belong to Persia and Turkey as well as the kingdom of Mesopotamia. It is of interest to include Mesopotamia in any discussion of Arab life, for although the Mesopotamians are not in Arabia geographically, nor even politically, racially they are Arabs as truly as the inhabitants of Nejd or the dwellers in the valleys of Oman. Practically all of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia are Arabic speaking and Arabic in origin, the chief exceptions being the numerous Jews who have come into the country from the north and the small community of Sabaeans, or fire-worshippers, who are a remnant of the people that the Arabs found inhabiting the country. The Arab is the dominant element, and the others together would probably not amount to five per cent of the whole.

The character of the country is most easily understood if we start by saying that Mesopotamia is the enormous

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delta of two rivers—the Euphrates and the Tigris. With insignificant exceptions, it is one vast level expanse made up of the rich silt that these rivers have brought down. It contains no physical features whatever that call for comment except the plains and the rivers, unless we mention that combination of plain and river which covers a considerable area, namely the marsh. In the past this district was the seat of some of the great empires of antiquity—Assyria and Babylonia and Persia. When Xenophon marched over it about 400 B. C., it was and had been for centuries one of the world's centers of power and productiveness. It supported a vast population in those days, how vast no one knows, but the ruins of ancient cities suggest that it must have been very great indeed. The basis of its greatness was the use of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers for irrigation. By this means the whole country had been transformed into one vast garden. The area was not so large then as it is now, for year by year the delta encroaches on the sea. It is supposed that in ancient times the sea reached up as far as Gurna at least, and that is a hundred miles from the present mouth of the river.

Under the Mohammedan caliphs of Baghdad the irrigation dams, waterways and smaller canals that had existed for centuries were allowed to fall into greater and greater decay. The Mongol invasion of Mesopotamia, which culminated in the capture of Baghdad in 1258 A. D., resulted in the complete destruction of this ancient system of irrigation. Ever since it has been in ruins, but the courses of the larger waterways are still distinguishable, and engineers tell us that they can decipher the entire system. The country has been a desert since that day, populated by nomad tribes who roam over the vast

[The Tigris-Euphrates Delta Area -- Analyst]

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162 level plains and raise, by means of the scanty rainfall,
311 a meager amount of wheat and barley in favorable seasons.

312 Along the rivers in their upper courses are a few gardens, irrigated by means of various draught animals and water-wheels, which elevate water from the stream to the level of the land above. At Gurna the Tigris and Euphrates join to form one river and at Mohammerah the Karun empties into this united stream. The three rivers thus flow into the ocean as one enormous waterway, known locally as the "Arab River." For the last hundred miles before the sea is reached, the fresh water of the river ebbs and flows with the tides, and by cutting outlets along the river banks gardens may be automatically irrigated twice a day if so much water is desired.

245 Along these lower stretches each bank of the river is lined with beautiful gardens, which reach a depth of some miles in places and extend in practically an unbroken expanse all the way up to Basra and in less prolific culture even as far as Gurna. These date gardens are beautiful things, beautiful for what they are now, and more beautiful still as a suggestion of what all Mesopotamia might be. They are also one of the most melancholy things in the world as reminders of what the past developed and the present has wasted.

311 The land has enormous resources for agricultural de-
134 velopment. That whole vast district may be made into the garden spot of the earth. The soil is the best in the world, river silt hundreds of feet deep. It is as level as a parlor floor, with just enough pitch between the big rivers, and between the north and south, to make irriga-
312 tion easy. All that is necessary is a perfected system of
185 irrigation, and although the necessary investment would

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312 be large, running up to hundreds of millions of dollars,
185 it should bring excellent returns. The trouble hitherto has been the unstable character of the government and the consequent risk to which any such investment would be exposed. During the time of the spring high waters, a disaffected tribe might obtain control of some important dam and with one stick of dynamite destroy nearly the whole system. But with a stable government the project should be one of great promise. The water is at
311 hand, three riverfuls of it, and as if to prove the prac-
312 ticability of the dream, we know that in the ages of an-
185 tiquity these resources were utilized for this purpose and with the most splendid success. Whether there is actually water enough to transform every square mile of the country into a garden or whether the supply of available land will prove to be more than the water can care for, especially now since the area has so greatly increased, can only be told after the project is tried. Certainly there is water enough for hundreds of square miles, enough indeed to make Mesopotamia one of the richest countries of its size in the world. Already one new irrigated area has been developed by the Hindiya Barrage built by a British concern between 1911 and 1913 as the first step in the reconstruction of the ancient irrigation system. The erection of this great barrage on the Euphrates River was due to the Young Turks, the dam being the first unit in a comprehensive irrigation project for the entire country which had been drawn up for them by the noted engineer, Sir William Willcocks. It is only a beginning, but it has made the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose over many square miles of territory.

311 With the exception of the rich petroleum deposits
162 which are said to exist throughout the Mosul district and

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

311 which may play a prominent part in the economic development of the country, Mesopotamia may be regarded as a purely agricultural land. From this standpoint it is best considered in two sections. There is the river-irrigated date-growing district to the south, with Basra as its center, and there is the district to the north inhabited by nomads, semi-nomads and river agriculturists, with its principal center in Baghdad and a second capital further north in Mosul.

312 The date gardeners along the river in the Basra territory resemble in many ways the cultivators that can be seen in any oasis town in Arabia. Their work is very similar. Irrigation systems must be constructed. Channels must be provided to carry the water to the roots of the date palms and to the squares of alfalfa and other crops. There is this difference, however, that the water flows of itself. Twice a day the tide of the ocean backs up the water of the great Arab River as far as Gurna, about a hundred miles from the sea. The extensive cultivation of dates stops at that point. The water can be shut out of a field if so desired, or the gates can be opened and as much allowed to enter as is needed. The supply is unlimited and can be had twice a day the year around. The soil is ideal. It is rich and hundreds of feet deep. In natural endowment Mesopotamia is a paradise for date gardeners.

511 As a matter of fact, however, that country is far from a paradise for date gardeners. The favorable conditions ought to make their work easier and their remuneration greater, but the facts are otherwise. Their condition is worse than that of the cultivators in Hasa. It is the story of the Bahrein pearl banks over again. The increased wealth of the Bahrein pearl banks has not bene-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

[Marsh Arabs]

It is customary to abuse the Turkish Government as responsible for these conditions. That government has much to answer for, but it is doubtful whether even the efficient and benevolent rule of the British will improve the lot of the date gardener a great deal so long as the present system remains unchanged. The trouble is that the owner has no contact with his gardener except through his agent, and is coerced by no intelligent and effective public sentiment. Whether in Turkish or British territory, he lives under a government built on the theory that contracts made in good faith must be executed at all costs and that knows no redress for the gardener except that he seek employment elsewhere, a thing that is very difficult to do. The adjustments possible in the oases of Arabia, where it is the function of the sheikh to modify oppressive contracts and where it is understood that an unfavorable reputation will speedily endanger the life of the land-owner, are out of the question in Mesopotamia.

In addition to the date gardeners who cultivate the irrigated land along the last hundred miles of the Arab River from Gurna to the Gulf, there are also a number of so-called Marsh Arabs along the rivers in Lower Mesopotamia, who raise rice, wheat and barley on land that is overflowed in the spring when water is high. Rice is their favorite crop and the one that is most reliable. In that country the visitor is surprised at being served with loaves of bread of the usual flat pancake-shape but snowy white instead of the light brown color of the whole wheat flour which is universal over all Arabia. I asked my host with much surprise whether he imported his flour from Bombay and he laughed. He hardly knew where

Iraq MH1
5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq Bedouin MH8

I 438 245 As compared with the southern district the northern part of Mesopotamia grows only a small amount of dates. There are a few gardens around each city, which furnish fresh dates for local consumption during the season, but in this region water has to be raised from the river to the ground level by animals, by the method in use in Arabia. The gardens are small and confined to the river-side and are of no real significance in the economic support of the country. These northern regions are not devoid of rainfall, and a meager return is secured by sowing wheat and barley on unirrigated land. Such cultivation, however, is uncertain, and in about one year out of every three the crop is a dead failure.

I 243

• I 162 B 461 233 511 The great mass of the people are nomadic or semi-nomadic. Everywhere there can be found pasturage for the nomad's flocks and herds and wells for the watering of stock. Many of the Bedouin nomads engage in agriculture occasionally in good seasons. Even among those who refuse to degrade themselves by becoming agriculturists of any degree, the standards of life are considerably higher than among the Bedouins of Central Arabia. The supply of forage is more abundant, and their flocks of camels and sheep and goats are very large. These nomads have better clothes, very much more abundant food, and in every way live a more tolerable life than that of their brothers in the Central Arabian desert. Horses are common in Mesopotamia. They are a luxury but not such a tax on the resources of the owner as farther south, for there are always forage and water for them. Every Arab of position expects to own and ride one; otherwise he loses caste. Arab horses are beautiful animals and are trained as household pets, much as a fine dog is trained with us. They are ridden without saddle

B 231 [556] 492

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH
Turkish Period M2

with, but even the admittedly great difficulties of her task do not excuse her utter failure. Although she has had hundreds of years of opportunity to exert her abilities in harmonizing the different races which make up her population, they are now more discordant than ever, and we had during the war the hideous spectacle of the dominant race deliberately attempting to exterminate one of the insubordinate subject races in cold blood, certainly a sufficient confession of failure.

The Sabaeans or fire-worshippers of Mesopotamia furnish a notable example of Turkish ineptitude in facing this difficult problem of assimilating alien races. The Sabaeans are the remnants of the pre-Islamic population of Mesopotamia who refused to become Moslems in the days of the Moslem conquest. They have been, and so far as their diminished numbers permit they still are, a most valuable asset to the country. They are by far the best artisans in the Arab world. Some of their silver work surpasses the best that India can offer. This community, which is absolutely peaceable and knows nothing of the arts of war, has been harried and persecuted until now there remains only the smallest fraction of their original numbers. They now number less than ten thousand, if their own estimates can be trusted, and their complete disappearance is apparently a matter of only a short time.

Another indictment that must be brought against the Turk in the Arab world is the fact that he failed utterly as a civilizing force. This was his fault and not simply his misfortune, as might be argued of an Arab ruler who has never seen the vision of the government as a force working to uplift society. In Hasa sanitation was not improved even in the most elementary way. No

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

Chapter Eleven

IRAQ

Distribution of Minorities

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THERE are no complete and up-to-date statistics of the population of Iraq, and estimates of the size of the minorities must therefore be treated with caution. The following figures have been arrived at by a comparison of several estimates, but are no more than rough approximations:

Kurds	800,000
Turcomans	75,000
Persians	80,000
Assyrians	30,000
Other Christians	60,000
Jews	100,000
Yazidis	30,000
Mandaeans	3,000
Shabak	12,000
Total	about 1,200,000
Total population	about 4,500,000

These figures show that the minorities between them form about a quarter of the population of Iraq. Of the minority-population itself three-quarters consist of groups which differ from the majority not in religion but in race and language. The minority-problem is much more one of relations between Arabs and non-Arabs than in the other countries.

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The greater part of the minorities inhabit the north of the country. Almost all the Kurds dwell in the mountainous north and north-east, in which they constitute a majority. The Yazidis are a compact community in Jebel Sinjar in the north-west; the Assyrians dwell largely in the Kurdish mountains and the plains around Mosul, although they are also scattered in other parts of the country. The majority of the other Christians live in and around Mosul, the remainder mostly in Baghdad and Basra. The Turcomans are to be found in a line of towns and villages running roughly south-east from Mosul in the border-districts between the predominantly Kurdish and predominantly Arab parts of the country; their main centre is Kirkuk. The Shabak live on the banks of the Tigris, south of Mosul.

Most of the Persians live in the Shi'i Holy Cities of Nejf,

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

Only three cities, Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra, have a total population exceeding 100,000. *Baghdad* (population 1943, 300,000) lies on the Tigris at the head of navigation of the river, and in the 'waist' of the lowlands, where the Tigris and Euphrates approach closely to each other, and hence give the best possibility of constructing irrigation canals. This narrow inter-riverine zone also provides a convenient crossing-place, since the marshland is reduced in extent and the firmer platform of steppeland provides a useful east-west route between the Mediterranean and Iran. The region of Baghdad thus has an important nodal position at the junction of routes from east and west across the desert, and from north, north-east, and south along the river valleys. It should be noted that all the factors mentioned above apply to a region and not to an actual site.

It is easy to see why a town should have grown up within the district of Baghdad, but the extra smaller scale features that usually fix the site of a town in one particular spot are less in evidence. Local changes in topography due to the shifting of drainage channels have led to the growth of three separate cities at various periods, and so within the Baghdad region there has arisen first Babylon, the ancient capital that lay closer to the Euphrates, some 60 miles to the south of modern Baghdad. Babylon was in turn succeeded by Ctesiphon, only a few miles from Baghdad, and this city remained the nodal centre until superseded by Baghdad in the early Muhammadan era. Baghdad itself dates only from the 8th century A.D., and a 'golden age' occurred when its Abbasid rulers supplanted the Omeyyads of Damascus and made it the capital of the Moslem world. Baghdad suffered greatly from Mongol invasion, and most of the older buildings have disappeared. The modern city is sprawling and undistinguished—in fact, an extreme disappointment to visitors who may wish to evoke the 'Arabian Nights'. Many of the poorer houses are of mud, and flooding is a frequent feature (Fig. 65).

Baghdad is the commercial centre of the region, with numerous, but small workshops and distributing houses. Industry is, as we have seen, mainly confined to bazaar crafts—textiles, metals, foodstuffs—and to the production of pottery and building materials. Trade is for the most part in the hands of Europeans, Jews, and Armenians, with Iraqi Christians as clerks and supervisors. An upper class—mainly Sunni Moslems—carries on the administration of the country; and a third element in the life of the city is a large group of absentee landlords.

25: Warriner S-5 (no date 1948 MI Middle East
Iraq MH1

which now amounts to one million acres. More might be added by water storage schemes. At present several large new schemes are under consideration. These involve flood control by the construction of the Bekhme dam on the Great Zab, and an extension of the Habbaniya reservoir. In addition to the Bekhme dam a scheme for flood irrigation in the Wadi Tharthar is being considered. A survey commission is now preparing a report on these developments, but so far no estimates have been made of the area of land likely to be brought into cultivation.

At present there is no shortage of labour. The population is small in relation to the area cropped, but it is growing rapidly. In 1931, according to Dowson, the total population was 2,824,000, of which 2,246,000 were estimated to be rural, including 895,000 settled population and 1,351,000 still living in tribal conditions.[1] Estimates for 1943 put the total population at 4,500,000, of which the rural population was 3,500,000. Some regions, Basra, Karbala, Dulaim, and Muntafiq are densely settled, while others, chiefly in the north, Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk, are settled very sparsely. The area of cropped land per head is 2 acres, and the area of cultivated land perhaps as much as 4 acres.

LAND TENURE

It is clear that Iraq has greater prospects of agricultural expansion than any other Middle East country. But to the development of these potentialities the greatest obstacle is land tenure. Sir Ernest Dowson, in his classical report on the subject, says: 'The injurious effect of the existing welter of uncertainty and dispute upon both the agricultural prosperity of the country and public order, can hardly be exaggerated. Every one directly or indirectly concerned with agriculture in el 'Iraq must know many individual cases in which the development and use of the land has been gravely obstructed by the widespread insecurity and confusion of rights. Indeed the most diligent inquiry would be unlikely to reveal anywhere any appreciable number of holdings, large or small, held in undisputed possession and free from hampering and conflicting claims. It needs no great effort of the imagination to appreciate the blighting effect of these unhappy conditions prevailing throughout the country, upon the

[1] Sir Ernest Dowson, *An Inquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions* (Letchworth Garden City Press for the Iraqi Government, 1932), p. 12.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
Iraq MH1

COTTON IN IRAQ

The program is undoubtedly ambitious. It requires a rate of progress unprecedented for a country which for many centuries remained virtually static and which over recent decades has developed at a relatively slow pace. There is no assurance that the program can be carried out over the next five years. Yet the Mission thought it important to set up targets, even ambitious targets, toward which the country can strive. If successful, the program will bring about a profound economic and social transformation, with far-reaching repercussions.

The International Bank concludes that the country will need no further foreign loans except possibly to meet part of the hard currency needs.[34] The oil revenues will be received in the form of sterling. However, under a new agreement, the United Kingdom has undertaken to furnish sufficient dollars against sterling to cover Iraq's essential needs.

The International Bank in 1950 already had loaned $12.8 million to Iraq, primarily for flood control, irrigation, and road construction. Apparently the Bank is willing to consider further loans, but the Iraqi are not interested as long as the oil revenues continue and they are able to get sterling converted into dollars.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

A number of organizations are providing technical assistance to Iraq in its development program, notably the United States Point Four Program and the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization.

Point Four began its program early in 1952 in such fields as cotton agronomy, farm machinery, agricultural extension and vocational education, irrigation, entomology, rural health, sanitation, and industrial development. About 25 Americans have been employed, and the number may be doubled by the end of the year. Most of the Point Four funds go for salaries; the costs of tools and materials are assumed by the local government. The specialists in Iraq obviously were chosen for their competence, practical experience, and their interest in the assignment. They are anxious to develop the most desirable means of approaching the problem.

The Food and Agriculture Organization has about 11 specialists regularly employed in the country in such fields as soils, cooperatives, bacteriology, veterinary science, nutrition, agricultural statistics, farm mechanization, and home economics. The program may be extended to cover agricultural research, extension, underground water and drainage, forestry, and fisheries.

The FAO operates almost entirely at the government level; Point Four seeks to go beyond government planning to the grass roots.

INDUSTRY

The people of Iraq, in common with their neighbors of the Middle East, live almost entirely by agriculture. About 80 per cent of the population earns its living directly from the soil, and most of the others indirectly.[35] Industry is still relatively undeveloped. Apart from the oil industry, which employs about 12,000 people, probably not more than 2,000 people are employed in what are called modern industrial plants.

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

59: Allen et al S-3 (1952-53) 1953 MI Middle East
Iraq M41

II. [illegible] BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

A. PRESENT CONDITIONS

369 511 162. The some 4,000,000 more people of Iraq who live the rural areas have been long characterized by many people both within and outside Iraq as suffering from poverty, ill health and illiteracy. These conditions become readily apparent to one visiting the villages of the country today. The characterization of the people can be extended to their being ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed.

369 511 The survey was immediately impressed with the crude and inefficient methods of making a living and the unnecessarily poor and unhealthy home and village life. These conditions can be remedied by instruction and assistance. People farm with primitive equipment and are wasteful of land and water. In village after village there are mud huts without light or fresh air. Families live, sleep and eat in single rooms packed together with animals, food, stores, farming equipment and refuse. Children play in courtyards filled with animal dung and filth, many people suffer from infected eyes, skin sores and diseases caused by unsanitary conditions which could be greatly reduced by better sanitary conditions. In the homes food is prepared on the floors where it comes in contact with the accumulated filth, flies, chickens, dogs and other animals. Pots and pans and mixing [illegible]ns lie on the ground. They are crudely cleaned with dirty water or old rags. There are no such things as kitchens, screened lockers for food or clean and covered places for drinking water in the homes of the rural villagers. Instruction in home care could overcome much of this.

369 364 511 The lack of pure drinking water is one of the most acute problems in these villages. Some pumps and water tanks and some water piped from springs to collection pools have been installed. However, these facilities frequently lack sanitary protection and show lack of proper maintenance by the communities. Often wells have around them accumulation of stagnant water, mud and animal dung. Another acute problem is the lack of any facilities in many villages, and homes for taking care of human waste. Where toilets exist they are more uncovered holes open to flies and a source of spreading disease.

369 871 Many villages have not yet received the benefit of schools where children can learn some of the concepts and techniques which would enable them to understand the need for improving their conditions and help their families in doing so. In some villages young girls are not allowed by their elders to attend school or not provided with primary schools, buildings and teachers. Much of a new generation is growing up illiterate and ignorant of how they might help themselves when they grow up.

369 423 471 511 Inquiry among villagers and local officials revealed that although there might be a headman or mukhtar of the village, nearly all direction and management of their affairs comes from outside leadership. Communities lack the local leadership and organization by which they might progress through their own efforts. Sheikhs, landlords, their agents (sirkal) who are frequently local government representatives as well, direct the farming operations, decide the lands on which the villagers will farm and live, provide much of the seed and equipment, direct the cleaning of ditches, collect the shares of crops and other payments and decide whether or not the farmers may live and work on the land during the next year. Even the farmer who owns his own land is not without obligations to money lenders, tax collectors and government supervision. The farmers and tenants of Iraq are dependent upon

63:Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
IRAQ 1941

132 year in the plains of the delta region and 12 to 16 inches in the upland districts, while in some sections of the mountains it increases to around 50 inches. The summer temperatures are uniformly high and may reach 110° to 125° F. in the central and the southern provinces. The daily fluctuations are slight in the Gulf region, but they become more pronounced toward the interior. During the winter months snows are rare outside the highland districts, but frosts are occasionally encountered as far south as Basra. In January, the coldest month, the mean maximum temperature averages 60° to 65° F. at Basra, 58° to 61° F. at Baghdad and 50° to 55° F. at Mosul; the mean minimum temperature, 38° to 42° F., 44° to 47° F. and 34° to 36° F., respectively. The mean maximum temperatures approximate 104° to 110° F. in all 3 localities in July, while the mean minimum temperatures range from 76° to 82° F. in Basra to 72° to 75° F. in Mosul. In midsummer the mean daily relative humidity rarely rises above 25 to 35 per cent on the plains, although it is often excessive in the Gulf area. Northwest winds, known locally as the *shamal*, blow irregularly throughout the year. They are especially strong and desiccating during the summer months, and, in the south, are usually laden with dust and sand.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

161 The population, according to the official census for 1947, was estimated at 4,799,500, including an unknown number of Bedouin, roughly calculated at about 250,000. The majority of the inhabitants are of mixed Arabic stock, representing a relatively homogeneous blend of ancient Semitic and Indo-European strains which has evolved over 162 centuries of successive conquests. About 95 795 per cent of the people are Moslems; slightly over one half are Shiites; and most of the [131] remainder are Sunnites. The Kurds, who

p. 22(A)

[181] inhabit the mountainous districts near the
162 northeastern frontiers, constitute the largest
795 Moslem minority group. Racially and linguistically distinct, they make up about 15 to 20 per cent of the population. Other non-Arabic Moslem communities include about 50,000 each of Turkomans and Iranians, the majority of whom are also found in the northern provinces. Most of the Kurds and the Turkomans are Sunnites, but some adhere to minor heterodox sects; the Iranians are Shiites.

From 150,000 to 200,000 native Christians reside in Iraq. The Chaldeans, a sect which observes early Nestorian rites but owes allegiance to the Vatican, comprise the most numerous group. Other communities include some 30,000 Assyrians (Nestorians), refugees from Asia Minor in 1918, and smaller contingents belonging to the Armenian Orthodox, the Greek Orthodox, the Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) and the Syrian
563 Catholic churches. Most of the Christian peoples live together in more or less separate ethnic and religious groups: about 70 per cent are settled in the northern provinces of Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil, and a large proportion of the remainder in the cities of Baghdad and Basra. Prominent among other indigenous sects are the Yezidis, or so-called "devil-worshipers," about 30,000 of whom dwell in the districts near the Syrian border. A few thousand Sabians, famous as silver craftsmen, also live in Baghdad, Amarah and Basra.

191 Arabic is spoken by over three quarters of the population. Kurdish, Syriac and Turki, however, are recognized as official languages in limited areas in the north, while English is extensively used in the
593 larger cities. Although the Iraqi are pre-
162 dominantly Arabs, marked gradations in social structure are represented by the nomadic Bedouin tribes of the deserts, the "marsh Arabs" or primitive tribesmen of the Amarah and Hammar lakes region of the southern delta, the rural peasants and the townspeople. Up to 1950, the population included about 200,000 Jews, primarily of

Sephardic origin. The majority have since 593
migrated to Israel, while probably less than 162
10,000 remain, subject to certain restrictions. Over 130,000 were transported to Israel by the Iraqi government in 1950-51. About 5,000 Palestinian refugees have settled in the country since the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948. Small numbers of British, American and other nationalities also reside in the larger cities.

As a whole, Iraq is sparsely settled, with 361
the population concentrated in the river 161
valleys and in the rain-irrigated highland districts of the north. The most densely populated areas are found in the river valleys of the northern delta. In 1947, the density of population in the provinces of the upper delta region was calculated at 131 per square mile in Hilla and 104 in Baghdad. In the northern provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk and Erbil it averaged 31 to 39 per square mile, and in Sulaimaniya, on the eastern frontier, 62 per square mile. In the south, it ranged from 75 per square mile in Basra province to 42 in Amarah, while in Dulaim, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, it did not exceed 10 per square mile. The pop- 369
ulation is essentially rural: over three quar- 161
ters of the inhabitants live in some 8,000 small villages or in semipermanent settlements. The Bedouin, representing about 5 [464]
to 8 per cent of the total population, roam the deserts with their flocks, but many migrate seasonally to the towns in search of work. There are only 7 cities with over 369
40,000 inhabitants. The population of 162
Baghdad, the capital, was estimated at between 900,000 and 1 million in 1952, including over 500,000 in the metropolitan area and several hundred thousand in the surrounding suburbs. The population of Mosul, a commercial center on the upper Tigris, totaled about 150,000, and of Kirkuk, the metropolis of the oil region, almost 75,000. Basra, the chief port, located on the Shatt al Arab, had a population of 90,000 to 100,000.

In spite of considerable progress in edu- 212
cation within the last 30 years, the majority 872

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

CHAPTER III

IRAQ

563 An examination of the development of Muslim-Jewish relations in Iraq reveals two noteworthy features, apparently at variance with each other. On the one hand, probably in no other Muslim country has the Jewish minority been so closely associated with the whole fabric of social and political life as in Iraq. On the other hand, in none has anti-Jewish feeling in recent years been so general and nowhere have anti-Jewish measures been applied so systematically.

The Jews in Iraq constitute, as far as we know, the oldest Jewish settlement outside Palestine. Indeed, even if the origin of the House of Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees is disregarded, Jewish settlements in Iraq can be said to have first taken place about 600 years before Jews from Palestine emigrated to Egypt. The majority of the Jews now living in Iraq are the direct descendants of those Jews who, after the destruction of the First Temple 2,500 years ago, were led into exile in Babylonia and remained there after the return of some of their number to Jerusalem with Ezra.

But the great antiquity of the Jewish community is not, of course, the sole reason for the exceptionally close bonds which unite Iraqi Jews to their country and their non-Jewish neighbours. "They have made themselves an integral part of the nation. Both in business and in politics they have always played a big part." (E. Main: *Iraq*, 1935.)

Their close association with all aspects of the life around them is in part due to the fact that the proportion of the Jewish minority in Iraq to the rest of the population is far higher than in other Muslim countries. Whereas the Jews in Egypt represent only 0.4 per cent of the total population, in Iraq they amount to about 2.5 per cent, and as much as 25 per cent in the capital, Baghdad.

[162]

It should be noted that it is more difficult to determine the total number of Jews in Iraq than in Egypt. For while in Egypt the Jewish population is almost exclusively concentrated in the big towns, in Iraq it is dispersed up and down the country, including some scattered among the Kurdish tribes in the North.

563 [197] 162 [463] The Kurdish Jews live somewhat apart from the rest of the Jewish community, just as the Kurdish minority lives apart from the Arab population. Both are different from the Arabs in general character and daily habits. The language of some of the Kurdish Jews is Syriac (a form of Aramaic), while those in Mosul speak Kurdish. They are mainly traders and craftsmen and live scattered among the various Kurdish villages and towns. In the Amadia district, however, there can be found a number of Jews engaged in tilling the land. It is

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

difficult to make even an approximate estimate of how many Jews live in these villages—perhaps 5,000-6,000 at most. They have remained relatively untouched by the events of the past few years, which have had such a revolutionary effect on the rest of the Jewish community.

The total Jewish population of Iraq is estimated at 120,000. Although this figure may be out of date, it is probably not far wrong, if allowance is made for emigration, on the one hand, and increase in the birthrate, on the other. Of these, between 90,000 and 100,000 live in Baghdad. But neither is it the larger number of Jews in the country as a whole nor their concentration in the capital which accounts for the difference of their position, at least in the past, from that of their coreligionists in Egypt.

Most important is the fact that Western influence on Iraqi Jews, being no stronger than it was on the town-bred Muslims, was much weaker in Iraq than in Egypt. Middle-class Jews in Iraq took to European dress at about the same time as the Muslims. Likewise, in their daily habits, their houses, and, last but not least, in their language, there was no marked difference between the two communities. Arabic has always been, and still is to-day, the mother-tongue of both Jew and Muslim.

True, as a result of the higher educational facilities provided by the activities of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Anglo-Jewish Association, knowledge of French or English is more common among the Jews than the Muslims. But this difference has never been sufficient to detract from the central fact that Western influence on the Jews has not been much stronger than on other Iraqi communities. All this is in strong contrast to the situation in Egypt and—again unlike Egypt—there has been no noticeable immigration of Jews from European countries.

During the nineteenth century the Jewish community in Iraq was fairly prosperous; and freedom to develop was assisted to no small degree by the two proclamations issued by the Sultan of Turkey in 1839 and 1856. At that time there was already a considerable number of well-to-do families. The schools of the *Alliance* helped to raise the community's educational standard. When the first Chamber of Deputies was opened in Istanbul in 1876, it included a representative of the Iraqi Jews (Menahem Danyiel) and, later, after the Constitution of 1900, the community was represented by Hezkiel Sassoon, a retired senior Ottoman Government official.

During the First World War, however, the Jewish community suffered great hardships at the hands of Turkish governors. Just prior to the fall of Baghdad in 1917, some of its leading members suffered death, torture, and imprisonment.

When, therefore, the Arabs rose against the Turks and made common cause with the Allies, the Jews regarded the fight for liberation as their own. They welcomed the establishment of the new Iraq under British Mandate, and many immediately offered their